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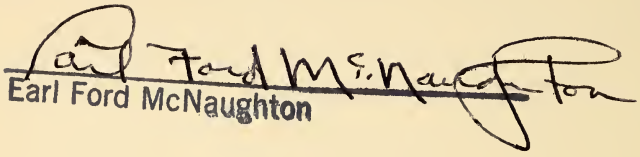

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MAP OF THE

ROUTE of RICHARD SMITH

The route shown in red, place names mentioned in the text being given and the modern county lines inserted.

[Compiled by the Editor.]

AMERICAN BANK NOTE CO.,N.Y.

A TOUR OF FOUR GREAT RIVERS

THE HUDSON, MOHAWK, SUSQUEHANNA AND DELAWARE IN 1769

BEING THE JOURNAL OF

RICHARD SMITH

OF BURLINGTON, NEW JERSEY

EDITED, WITH A

SHORT HISTORY OF THE PIONEER SETTLEMENTS,

BY

FRANCIS W. HALSEY

AUTHOR OF "THE OLD NEW YORK FRONTIER."

NEW YORK

CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS

1906

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Published May, 1906

THE DE VINNE PRESS

TO

EDWARD CARY

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

GREAT SEAL OF THE PROVINCE OF NEW YORK

Reproduced on the Cover

In use from 1767 until the Revolution.
From an impression in the State Library at Albany.

MAP OF THE ROUTE OF RICHARD SMITH . . . *Frontispiece*

The route shown in red, place names mentioned in the text being given and modern county lines inserted.
Compiled by the Editor.

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(2) *From a silhouette owned in the family.*

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PART I

HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION

HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION

I

RICHARD SMITH

AS a contemporary record of human and other conditions in the valleys of four great rivers, during the period between the Stamp Act and the beginning of the Revolutionary War, the journal of Richard Smith has particular historical value. Three of these valleys, or some parts of them, at that time had been undergoing settlement by Europeans for somewhat more than 100 years, while the fourth had been in the hands of Europeans for about twenty-five. Except for the towns which had grown up at or near their mouths, each made its way through a country still sparsely settled.[1] Aside from the fur trade, agriculture was the chief industry,

[1] The population of the Province of New York in 1771, exclusive of Indians and negroes, was about 150,000, but was mainly confined to New York City, Long Island, Staten Island and the Hudson Valley. West of Orange, Ulster and Albany Counties lay the County of Tryon, comprising a territory that now includes eight counties, besides parts of three others. In all that frontier territory were only about 10,000 inhabitants.

such others as existed being subordinate to it—the shipping that conveyed flour to the West Indies, the small tradesmen who earned livelihoods as middlemen between manufacturers and consumers.

Mr. Smith saw these valleys, when the Indians still traversed the trails that had been worn deep by the feet of their forefathers, and when the bark canoe was still an indispensable adjunct of frontier trade. His journal is not alone valuable because of the conditions in which it was written, but also for the discrimination and precision with which its author observed real things and recorded what was vital and interesting in them. In many ways it is an exceptional document.

Mr. Smith belonged to a family which was long settled in Burlington, New Jersey, where he was born March 22nd, 1735, being the sixth of the family who in succession had borne the name of Richard. He was a brother of Samuel Smith, who wrote a history of New Jersey, that is still held in esteem by those who prosecute historical inquiries. At the family home, Green Hill, may be seen to this day ancient cherry trees, which Richard Smith as a boy helped to plant. Having studied law in Philadelphia, he was admitted to the bar and afterwards served as a member of the New Jersey Assembly, and as State Treasurer.[1] When he made his tour of these four rivers, he was thirty-four years old. The jour-

[1] "The Burlington Smiths," by R. Morris Smith (1878).

PORTRAITS OF RICHARD SMITH

(1) From a sketch in the Emmet Collection of the Lenox Library, where it is described as "taken from a silhouette in the Coates collection."

(2) From a silhouette owned in the family.

nal indicates unusual powers of observation and judgment for a man of that age.

The immediate purpose of Mr. Smith in his tour, was to make a survey of a grant of land now known as the Otego patent, comprising 69,000 acres on the upper Susquehanna, in which he, along with many others, was interested as a proprietor. He and his associates were a few of the many from distant places who, in the years immediately following the Fort Stanwix Treaty of November, 1768, explored and surveyed the fertile lands bordering on the Susquehanna immediately south of the Mohawk.

Fort Stanwix, the scene of this treaty, of which no part now remains, occupied the site of the present City of Rome, in Oneida County, New York. It had been built during the French War, taking its name from a British general, but it acquired its chief military distinction in 1777, when, under the name of Fort Schuyler, it became the scene of a notable siege, contemporary with the battle of Oriskany, fought eight miles east of it. Oriskany was a contest between Indians and Tories on the one hand, and a relief force bound for the fort on the other.

For many years before the treaty, there had been chronic trouble with the Indians on the New York and Pennsylvania frontiers, the Indians having grown more and more discontented with the white man's "thirst for land." Under Sir William Johnson's direction, a council was at last called, to meet at

Fort Stanwix, its purpose being to establish a scientific frontier.

This council in its results became a memorable gathering. The Indians who came numbered 3,200,—probably the largest number who ever assembled in America for a conference with white men. Sir William Johnson, in preparation for the meeting, sent to Fort Stanwix twenty large batteaux laden with the necessary presents for the Indians. He ordered sixty barrels of flour, fifty barrels of pork, six barrels of rice, and seventy barrels of other provisions, the basis of his calculation being that each Indian would consume twice as much food as a white man.

After several days devoted to the preliminary negotiations, the conference ended in the formal execution by the Indians, of a deed in which was delimited what was long afterwards famous as the Line of Property. This division of territory surrendered to the white man all title to lands that lay east of this line, which began near the eastern end of Lake Oneida, whence it proceeded to and followed the Unadilla River southward, then followed part of the Delaware and part of the Susquehanna and finally went westward to the Alleghany, after which it followed the Ohio. By this conveyance was definitely made over to the English a territory out of which states have since been created, forming as it does the basis of title to a large part of New York State, as

well as of Kentucky, West Virginia, and Pennsylvania. One of the witnesses to the transaction was Benjamin Franklin.

The deed transferred these lands, with "all the hereditaments and appurtenances in the fullest and most ample manner unto our said Sovereign Lord, King George III., his heirs and successors, to and for his and their own proper use and behoof forever." While the sum paid to the Indians for this imperial territory was only $50,000, the king thought the demands of the Indians "very unreasonable," and contended that the mother country ought not to have "any part of expense of a measure calculated for the local interests of particular colonies."[1]

Once the treaty had been signed, the granting of patents to the newly acquired territory became an active pursuit. In the same year in which it was executed, John Butler, who was afterwards to acquire an infamous name at Wyoming, got a tract on the Butternut Creek just west of the Otego grant. Following this came many other grants, including Croghan's at Otsego Lake, where twenty years later, the father of Fenimore Cooper was to found the settlement that still bears his name.

The Otego patent comprised a considerable part of the present towns of Oneonta and Otego in Otsego County, just north of the Susquehanna, and south of

[1] A fuller account of this treaty, with a map showing in detail the Line of Property, may be found in "The Old New York Frontier" (1901).

Cooperstown. In issuing it, the crown reserved "all white or other sorts of pine trees fit for masts, of the growth of twenty-four inches in diameter and upwards, at ten inches from the earth, for masts for the Royal Navy of us, our heirs, and successors." It imposed as a condition that one family should settle each 1,000 acres within three years, and should cultivate at least three acres for every fifty acres capable of cultivation.[1]

Mr. Smith made his tour accompanied by Robert Wells and several surveyors. Soon afterwards he began the work of settling his part of the tract which comprised four thousand acres on both sides of the Otsdawa Creek.[2]

Several families were induced to take up lands, but one of his projects, the founding of a Quaker settlement, was thwarted by the Border Wars of the Revolution. His notes to his journal, written twenty years afterwards, show that Mr. Smith personally visited these lands in 1773, 1777 and 1783. During the visit of 1773, he built a house known afterwards as Smith Hall, which is still standing in the town of Laurens, about half way between the villages

[1] Land papers of Richard Smith, now owned by J. Francis Coad, of Charlotte Hall, Maryland, a great-great-grandson of Mr. Smith.

[2] The reader will perhaps pardon the personal pleasure which it gives me to recall here that, during a vacation from college, one hundred years after Mr. Smith made this survey, I acted as chain bearer in a survey on these Otsdawa lands, the purpose being to determine the true line between two farmers who had carried their disputes into court.

SMITH HALL

BUILT IN LAURENS, OTSEGO CO., NEW YORK, IN 1773, BY RICHARD SMITH, AND NOW PERHAPS THE OLDEST HOUSE IN CENTRAL NEW YORK SOUTH OF THE MOHAWK VALLEY. THE PIAZZA WAS RECENTLY ADDED BY ITS PRESENT OWNER, W. V. HUNTINGTON

of Laurens and Mount Vision. He described the house at that time as follows:

"The cellar is about six feet high, of the same dimensions as the house, that is thirty by twenty. Saturday, July 17th, we raised the house before dinner, the persons present beside myself, Nathaniel Edwards, John Hicks, Jonathan Fitch, Edward Halsey, William Ferguson, Thomas Wise, Joseph Meynall, William Horner, Joseph Dean, and the carpenters John Newberry and John Brown—no rum or other liquor than good water. The house is a frame one, two stories high, each of eight feet, besides the garret and cellar, all built of white pine, except white oak, and black oak, or red oak lath. It is to have two large windows of 24 lights each in the first front story, and three above, and the like in the rear. with two small windows in each end above and below; a front and back door; one chimney and three fire-places in the Northeast end, and room left for others in the opposite end, with two small windows in the cellar, and two in the garret. It is the only house, properly speaking, as yet upon the Otego patent, the rest being only small log huts."[1]

During the Revolution Mr. Smith served as a delegate from New Jersey to the First Continental Con-

[1] Memoranda made by Mr. Smith in 1773 and the originals now owned by Mr. Coad. Mr. Coad has several deeds pertaining to the Otego patent, three of which are on parchment. Two of these are signed by Benjamin Franklin's son, William, the Colonial governor of New Jersey.

gress, where he is said to have kept the journal of the proceedings. In Matteson's picture, entitled "The First Prayer in Congress," his portrait is given, and on some of the early issues of Continental currency, his signature may be seen.[1] He was elected to the Second Continental Congress, but afterwards resigned in consequence of ill health. After the war, his son, Richard R. Smith, followed William Cooper to Otsego Lake, and in the winter of 1789-1790, opened the first store in the settlement. He was afterwards chosen the first sheriff of the county. Richard Smith about 1790, removed to his farm at Smith Hall, "to which he had long been much attached, and which he continued to improve and cultivate to the year 1799, when he removed to Philadelphia."[2]

On September 17th, 1803, Mr. Smith died in Natchez, while making a tour of the valley of the Mississippi, and was buried in the cemetery at that place. He was a man of cultivated mind, as his journal amply shows, with marked literary tastes. He numbered among his correspondents Tobias Smollett.[1] His son describes him as "a man of incorruptible integrity, of gentle and amiable manners, of almost unexampled temperance, having through the course of his life, never been known to drink the

[1] "The Burlington Smiths," by R. Morris Smith (1878).

[2] Manuscript sketch of his life, signed "his affectionate son, Richard R. Smith," dated Philadelphia, October 25, 1803, and now owned by Mr. Coad.

smallest portion of ardent spirits, or even wine. He possessed a strong mind, enriched with a variety of knowledge, collected from judicious observations upon men and manners, and from intimate acquaintance with almost every author of note in the ancient or modern languages."

The original manuscript of the journal has been carefully preserved by Mr. Smith's descendants and is now the property of Mr. Coad. In October, 1790, a transcript of it was made "for the use of" M. Pierre Eugène du Simitière, the Swiss artist, who was then living in this country, and to whom many eminent men sat for their portraits. Mr. Smith prepared for this transcript a series of comments in the form of notes, running with the text, but placed in parentheses, which are given in the present edition as foot-notes with the initials R. S. appended. From this transcript another copy was made long afterward and eventually came into the possession of George H. Moore, formerly the Librarian of the Lenox Library. At the sale of Mr. Moore's books and manuscripts in 1894, it was purchased by me, and has formed the basis of the printer's "copy" in the preparation of the present edition.

Mr. Coad has very obligingly lent the original manuscript in order that all changes made in the two transcripts might be noted. Apparently the first transcript was made under Mr. Smith's own eye, if not by his own hand, many sentences having been im-

proved here and there as to construction and clearness of expression, but otherwise the copy of this transcript and the original journal are the same. The reader therefore possesses the journal as Mr. Smith desired it to be read by others, with the addition of the notes that were appended by him twenty-one years after the original was written. Except for a few extracts, pertaining to particular localities, making in all about one fourth of the whole, the journal is not known to have been printed before.

II

THE PIONEERS OF THE HUDSON

WHEN Mr. Smith reached New York, May 5th, 1769, he found it scarcely yet recovered from the turmoil incident to the Non-Importation Agreement of 1765, in which (perhaps unconsciously, but none the less definitely), had been begun the foundations of American manufacturing; incident also to the Stamp Act Congress of the same year, the arrival of the stamps, and their seizure and locking up in the City Hall then standing in Wall Street on the site of the present Sub-Treasury Building. Only four years had passed since British officials were hung in effigy in the streets of New York and the state carriage of the Acting Governor, Cadwallader Colden, was hauled down to Bowling Green, and there publicly burned. Liberty poles were now being maintained on the site of the present Post Office Building, with much difficulty, when maintained at all. One year later was to be fought, in John Street, the Battle of Golden Hill, in which, with a prostrate liberty pole for its immediate cause, was shed the first blood of the Revolution.

The Province of New York was then one of the

smallest of the American colonies, both in population and in resources. The city made a much better comparative showing than the country, but was still third among the large cities. It had special importance as the administrative centre for Royal interests in America, so that a small court, modelled after the London example, could be said to have been maintained here. Coaches were owned by twenty-six persons, chariots by thirty-three, and phaëtons by twenty-six, while eighty-five gentlemen were entitled to display coats of arms.[1]

In a social sense, the city was perhaps more important than Boston or Philadelphia. The notable houses were the Walton in Franklin Square, and the Kennedy, at No. 1 Broadway. There were three Episcopal, or Established, churches; three Presbyterian churches, and three Dutch Reformed ones, while six other denominations had each one church,—the Methodists, Moravians, Baptists, Quakers, French Catholics and Jews. King's College was a notable seat of learning for the Middle Colonies, and there was one theatre. Other buildings were the City Hall, Fort George, the Royal Exchange, and Fraunces' Tavern.

Thomas Jones,[2] the loyalist, has drawn an idyllic picture of the city as he knew it in 1752, describing that period as "the golden age," the city being then

[1] Du Simitière.

[2] "History of the Province of New York."

"in its happiest state." The inhabitants were increasing in numbers and wealth; luxury was unknown; the strife of parties was forgotten; and peace prevailed on the northern frontier.

While the city had grown as the rural parts could not, the city in its first years grew slowly. Three years after the first settlement, a horse grist mill, in South William Street near Pearl, was about the only visible sign of a settlement meant to be permanent. Twelve years later the town had only three hundred inhabitants, and only seven farms were under cultivation. Father Jogues[1] in 1644 found four or five hundred people in the place, who spoke eighteen different languages. In 1652 one small wharf, fifty feet long, sufficed for trade, the population being eight hundred for the city, and two thousand for the Province. Few of the permanent settlers were Dutch, the Dutch who came in those years being traders. After the expulsion of the Spaniards the Dutch had shown reluctance to emigrate from Holland, feeling that "no country was pleasanter to live in."[2]

But a powerful impetus was given to the city some thirty years afterwards, when was passed the Bolting Act, which provided that no mill outside of the city should grind flour for market. This monopoly continued in force sixteen years, and the town under its

[1] "Description of New Netherlands."

[2] John Fiske's "Dutch and Quaker Colonies."

fostering influence went forward with rapid strides. Indeed the Bolting Act may be said to have laid the foundation of the foreign commerce of New York.[1]

Combined with other causes, this discrimination restricted, as with an iron hand, the growth of settlements in the Hudson Valley. Such attempts as were made there, were constantly checked, first by the Indians, and then by aggressions from the French in Canada, extending over quite one hundred years. Immigrants in these circumstances chose the safer valleys offered in New Jersey and Pennsylvania. As the whole northern frontier of New York was exposed to this danger, it was feared that the French might secure the Hudson Valley, in which case no settlements there would be secure. The city itself scarcely felt safe, Fort George at the Battery being kept constantly in a state of military efficiency. As early as the time of Frontenac (1687), Canadian officials had urged the conquest of New York as a measure which would make the King of France master of North America. The danger was not completely removed until the fall of Quebec, and the Treaty of Paris in 1763 had forever ended the power of France in the New World.

Let me outline briefly such work as had been done to people the Hudson Valley during the century and a quarter that had elapsed since the Walloons in 1623 made the first actual settlement on Manhattan

[1] Janvier's "In Old New York."

Island. In 1614, on an island opposite Albany, the Dutch had founded a trading post, and in 1623, Albany itself was founded, with Walloons for the principal settlers. In 1644, Father Jogues described Albany as having "a wretched little fort called Fort Orange," with a population of 100, who reside in 25 or 30 houses, "all made of boards, and thatched, the only mason's work being in the chimneys."

The place thrived, however, as a trading post. In the year 1656, 46,500 beaver and other skins were shipped from Albany to New Amsterdam. And yet when Mr. Smith made his visit one hundred years afterward, the houses in Albany numbered only three hundred, and it was by no means attractive as a place to live in. It was still guarded by a stockade, and had in the centre a small fort, "a sort of citadel," provided with cannon, and capable of holding three hundred men.[1] In 1678, this fort with its 12 guns was described as "sufficient against the Indians," and in 1687, it had small arms for forty men.[2] It was sometimes called Fort Aurania, but more often Fort Orange.

In these years the Dutch had well explored the interior of the Province. The Visscher "Map of New Netherlands," which dates from before 1656, shows the course of the Hudson, Mohawk, Susquehanna and Delaware with a fair degree of general

[1] "Documents Relating to the Colonial History of New York."

[2] Dongan's "Report on the Province."

PART OF THE VISSCHER MAP OF NEW NETHERLANDS

DRAWN BEFORE 1656 AND SHOWING THE HUDSON, MOHAWK, ST. LAWRENCE, SUSQUEHANNA AND DELAWARE RIVERS

From a copy in the Emmet Collection of the Lenox Library

accuracy, while the number of place names given is surprisingly large.

The first efforts made to establish settlements along the Hudson met with constant obstructions in the form of Indian hostilities. In one of the outlying settlements the Indians, in 1643, killed forty Hollanders and burned many houses, besides barns filled with grain.[1] At Esopus, or Rondout, a trading post had been established in 1614,[2] and what could be called a settlement was made there about 1640, when the entire population of the Province did not exceed one thousand.

These first pioneers at Esopus were forced away by the Indians, but the place was soon settled again, and in 1655 Peter Stuyvesant personally staked out a village there and sent twenty-four soldiers to guard it. In 1657 the place was described as "an exceedingly beautiful land," where "some Dutch inhabitants have settled themselves, and prosper especially well."[3] By 1658 Esopus contained between sixty and seventy Europeans who that year put "990 schepels of seed grain into the ground."[4] They had found it necessary, however, to live close together in villages, although cultivating lands at a distance, and to build a fort on the site of Rondout, and hence the name Rondout.

[1] Jogues.

[2] E. M. Bacon's "The Hudson from Ocean to Source."

[3] "Documentary History of the State of New York."

[4] A schepel is the equivalent of a bushel.

In 1658, the village resisted a siege from the Indians, and in 1661, after the new village of Wiltwick, now Kingston, had been founded, the pioneers were again attacked. Wiltwick was completely destroyed, twelve buildings being burned, eighteen people killed, six made prisoners, and sixty-five others taking flight.[1] Three years later the Eastern shore of the Hudson was devasted by the Mohicans. In spite of these warnings, settlers returned to Esopus, and in 1668 were founded the neighboring villages of Marbletown and Hurley. A local court was established, and in 1673 Kingston could boast a warehouse thirty feet by forty. In 1646 and 1656, deeds to land on Catskill Creek had been obtained from the Indians, and in 1656 one at Schodack.

None of these settlers were Englishmen, the Dutch having strictly prohibited the English from going to Esopus and Albany. Englishmen from Lynn, Massachusetts, who in 1639 had sought to found a settlement at Manhasset on Long Island were driven out by the Dutch, and sailing eastward, began a settlement at Southampton, which was probably the first English colony planted in New York State.[2] Some years later non-intercourse was proclaimed with Connecticut, and in 1657 a fine of £50 was imposed for harboring Quakers over night, while any vessel bringing Quakers into the City was subject to confisca-

[1] "Documents Relating to the Colonial History of New York."

[2] Southold, Long Island, also claims this distinction. The rival claims have, I believe, never been satisfactorily adjusted.

tion.[1] French Protestants, however, were welcomed, Walloons and Huguenots forming a considerable element in all the settlements on the Hudson. Others who came to the Province were Germans, Danes, Norwegians and Bohemians.

From the Esopus centre went out those adventurous pioneers who, in the years when Esopus was attacked by Indians, pushed westward to the fertile lands in the southwestern part of Orange County, known collectively as Minisink, where grew up a thriving settlement. Before the century closed, a neighboring one called Waywayyonda was founded. The Indians gave trouble at Minisink, and in 1669 a massacre occurred, "the bloody horrors of which still linger in the traditions of the neighborhood."[2]

These Indian wars almost depopulated the Province. When they began, the population was about 2,500, but when they closed, it was under one thousand. Indeed it was not until some years after the English rule had become well established that the Province could again boast of 2,500 people.

With the English conquest, fresh efforts were made to people the Hudson Valley. At Esopus, a new and large tract was acquired in 1664, and thirty lots were granted to each soldier of the garrison. Twenty years later the settlers at that place petitioned to be allowed to choose their own officers and were declared rioters

[1] Broadhead's "History of New York."

[2] Stone's "Life of Brant."

for their presumption. After having been bound over to keep the peace, they were released on paying their fines. At New Paltz, in 1677, a deed to a tract twelve miles long was obtained by Huguenots who had been in Kingston since 1660, and the beginnings were made of an important community. These settlements in Orange and Ulster Counties long remained the granary of the Province.

In 1678, the entire Province contained only twenty-four towns, villages and parishes; and twenty years later the number of saw-mills—and a saw-mill was a first necessity to pioneers—was only forty.[1] The population was about eight thousand in 1678. Of these the city alone had 3,430, who were housed in about four hundred dwellings. Long Island, Staten Island and Westchester County, being less exposed to hostilities than other neighborhoods, contained the greater part of the remainder. Twenty years later the Province had 17,000 inhabitants, of whom 4,937 were in the City, and 8,241 on Long Island. In Orange County were only 219; in Ulster and Dutchess 1,387, and in Albany County, which then extended over all territory in the Province west and north of the present limits of Albany County, were 1,384.[2] Few of the immigrants had yet come from the British Isles. In 1687 Governor Dongan declared that, in the course of seven years, not more

[1] Bellomont to the Lords of Trade and Plantations.

[2] Returns printed in the "Documentary History of the State of New York."

NEW AMSTERDAM IN OR BEFORE 1655

FROM A VIEW ENGRAVED ON THE MARGIN OF THE NICOLAS J. VISSCHER MAP OF NEW NETHERLANDS. THIS VIEW IS ALMOST IDENTICAL WITH ONE GIVEN BY VAN DER DONCK

than twenty of the immigrants were English, Scotch or Irish.

One important cause of this disinclination to settle in New York was the use made of the Colony by England as a place to which objectionable or criminal persons were deported. The Colony thus acquired a bad name. Moreover, it became a favorite resort for pirates, to whom it was not inhospitable, Captain Kidd being among the number received. It also maintained, at the foot of Wall Street, a slave market, the number of slaves in the Province in 1723 being more than 6,000, and not all were black.[1] The city itself failed at times to keep such headway as it gained. Lieutenant Governor Clarke,[2] in 1741, declared that, when he arrived in the Province, he found "the shipbuilding almost dead," and one hundred houses "empty for want of tenants." In these circumstances, while men who were ambitious of official life eagerly sought positions in New York, others who desired to take up industrial pursuits and rear families, preferred to plant homes elsewhere.

Along the Hudson a system of land holdings came into existence by which settlements were still further restricted. In 1629 what is known as the Charter of Privileges and Exemptions offered liberal grants of land to those who, within four years, should bring

[1] "Documentary History of the State of New York."

[2] Letter to the Lords of Trade and Plantations.

fifty grown-up persons to the Province, and settle them along the Hudson, these lands to be held as patroonships. The West India Company reserved all right to the fur trade, but other privileges almost feudal were acquired by the patroons.

Oldest of these famous estates was the Van Rensselaer estate, the beginnings of which were made as early as 1630. Its founder was Killien Van Rensselaer, who was interested in the West India Company, but never came to America. From his home in Amsterdam, Holland, he employed agents to trade with the Indians on the upper Hudson, taking lands in exchange for goods. This manor grew in time to be an almost independent little principality. In 1650, complaint was made by the authorities on Manhattan Island that the patroon "causes all his tenants to sign that they will not appeal to the Manhattan authorities," and in practice "absolutely abolishes whomsoever he pleases," and "does not allow any person to reside there except at his pleasure and upon certain conditions." The Van Rensselaer patroonship was the only one of those granted by the Dutch which survived after 1664, the others having "died a natural death or been bought back by the Dutch West India Company."[1]

After the English conquest, other feudalistic estates, with more restricted privileges, were founded under

[1] Mrs. Schuyler Van Rensselaer in the "North American Review" for August, 1901.

the name of manors. Extending from Yonkers northward to the Croton River, and comprising 390 square miles, Frederic Philipse, by purchases from the Indians and by grants from the government, acquired a vast tract, which in 1693 was erected into a manor.[1] North of him was the Van Cortlandt Manor, dating from 1697, and reaching to Anthony's Nose. Its manor house, still standing, was built to serve as a fort as well as a dwelling.

Next came the Romboudt and Verplanck Manors, granted in 1685, when Dongan was Governor, and extending between the Fishkill and Wappinger Creeks several miles along the river, and sixteen miles back into the interior. East of this lay the Beekman Manor. Next, on the north, lay that part of the river where Robert Livingston acquired a princely domain, which eventually made one of his heirs the richest man in the Province.

The owners of these tracts sought to secure settlers, but in the early years their success was small. Pioneers of the best class, seeking freedom in the new world, were reluctant to become land tenants, a condition of life in which the old world had taught them that

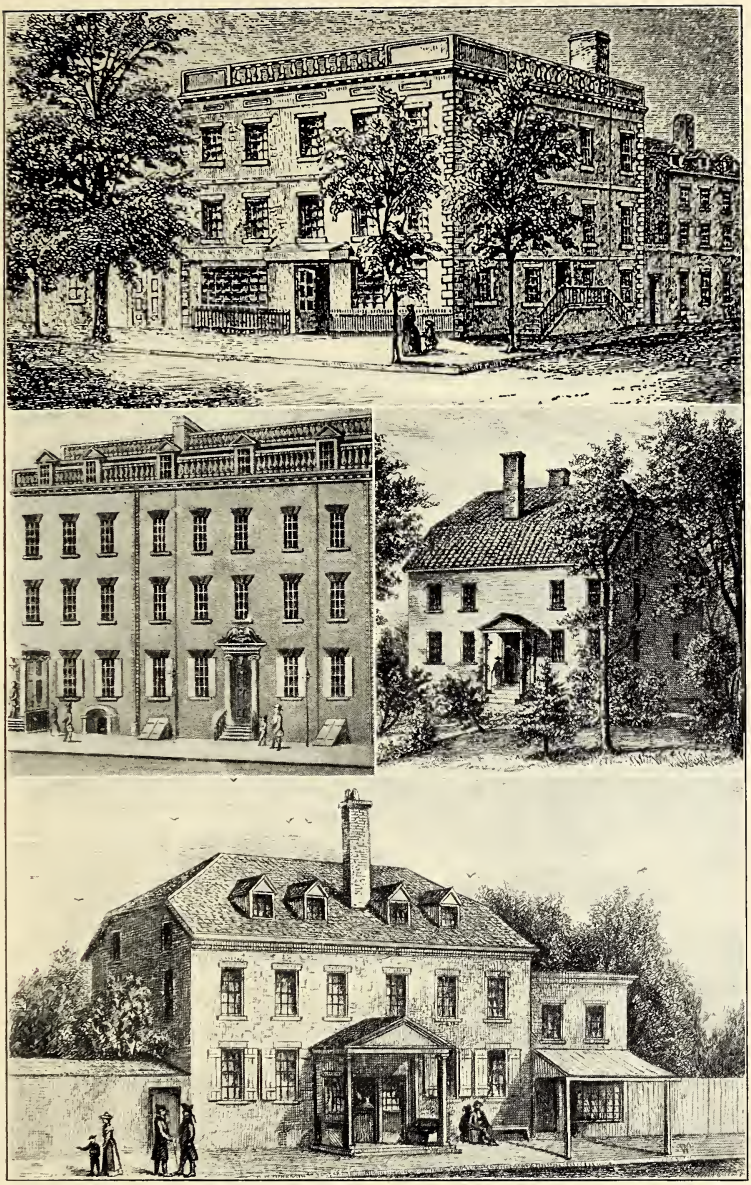
[1] Of this family was Mary Philipse, whose hand Washington is said to have sought in marriage, not knowing she was already engaged to Col. Roger Morris. By a strange irony of fate, the house which she and Col. Morris were building for a home on Manhattan Island at the time of Mr. Smith's visit, became in 1776 the headquarters of Washington, Col. and Mrs. Morris having fled from the city as loyalists. One of the romantic traditions connected with this marriage is that an Indian soothsayer, who was present at the ceremony, remarked to Mary Philipse, "your possessions shall pass away when the eagle shall despoil the lion."

there was serious danger of becoming serfs. Such as came were obliged at first to live in pits dug as cellars might be and then roofed over.

Writing in 1701, the Earl of Bellomont, Governor of the Province, declared to the Lords of Trade,[1] that "not less than 7,000,000 acres have been granted away in thirteen grants, and all of them uninhabited, except Mr. Van Rensselaer's grant, which is twenty-four miles square, and on which the town of Albany stands." Two generations had passed away since these Van Rensselaer lands were acquired. Meanwhile they had "fallen into many hands by the Dutch system of dividing them equally among their children."

With the other grants no such favorable results had been reached. Bellomont declared that Mr. Livingston "has on his great grant of sixteen miles long and twenty-four broad but four or five cottages, as I am told—men that live in vassalage under him, and work for him, and are too poor to be farmers, having not the wherewithal to buy cattle to start a farm." Col. Van Cortlandt "has also on his great grants four or five of these poor families," his two grants being each twenty miles square. Col. Philipse on his manor had about twenty families "of those poor people that worked for him." "I do not hear," said the Governor further, "that Philipse's son, Col. Schuyler, Col. Beekman, or Col. Smith have any

[1] "Documents Relating to the Colonial History of New York."



COLONIAL HOUSES IN NEW YORK CITY

(1) The Franklin House in Franklin Square. Built about 1770.
(2) The Walton House in Franklin Square. Built in 1750.
(3) Burns's Coffee House in Broadway, just above Trinity Church. Garden view.
(4) Burns's Coffee House. Front view.

From old prints

tenants on their grants," and then added that many people had been "wickedly stripped of their lands by these grantees."

Early in the new century, an important, though temporary, accession to the population came from Germany. Men of the peasant class from the Palatinate, having been forced by the wars between their country and France to leave their homes in a state of great poverty, sought the protection of Queen Anne, and made arrangements by which they emigrated to New York, where they were to acquire lands and eventually were to reimburse the Crown for their passage money and other expenses.

Several thousand came over, beginning in 1710. Under Governor Hunter, it was arranged that they should take up lands in Livingston Manor, where, about eight miles below the city of Hudson, five villages were laid out for them. But they did not thrive; under the conditions imposed they found it impossible to make money, and after a stern struggle for a few years, gave up the task. Many removed to Schoharie, and others found their way to the Upper Mohawk. A small number remained in the Hudson Valley—126 families on the east side, 97 on the west. The failure of these settlements was exceptional, but it illustrates the radical defect in a system of land holdings which, under the patroons and lords of manors, for a long period retarded the growth of the Hudson Valley.

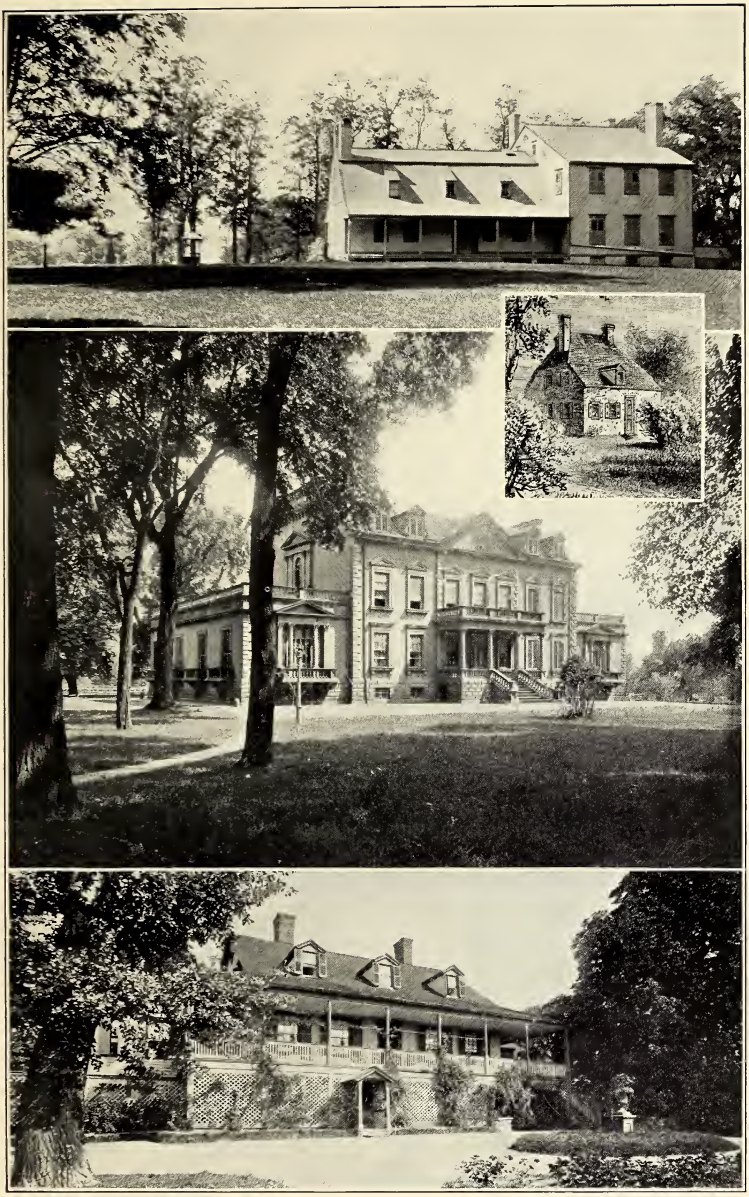
As late as 1759, in a memorial asking for clergymen to be sent to the Hudson Valley, it was stated that on the east side of the river, "quite as far as we have any settlements abounding with people," the country was destitute of ministers, except for two Dutch and two German ones, and many people have almost lost all sense of Christianity." In Philipse Manor there were "people enough for a large congregation, without any minister." In other words, it was mentioned, as if somewhat remarkable, that from Yonkers to the Croton River there were enough people to fill one of the small churches of that day.[1]

But the best evidence of the backward condition of the Province is found in the census. New York, which in our day has long stood first among the States in population, was eighth among the colonies in 1755. Pennsylvania in that year had 220,000 people, Massachusetts 200,000, Virginia 125,000, Maryland 100,000, Connecticut 100,000, New Hampshire 75,000, New Jersey 75,000, and North Carolina 75,000, but New York had only 55,000.[2]

Mr. Smith's tour was made thirteen years after these returns were compiled. During the second half of this period, with the return of peace and a peace which it was known would last—at least so far as the claims of France were concerned—remarkable growth had set in. By 1774, the population was

[1] "Documents Relating to the Colonial History of New York."

[2] Returns made to the Lords of Trade and Plantations.



HUDSON RIVER MANOR HOUSE

(1) The Verplanck House in Fishkill. Built about 1740.

(2) The Beekman House in Rhinebeck.

(3) The Van Rensselaer House which survived in Albany until recent years. Threatened with demolition, it has been removed to Williamstown, Mass., and there re-erected as a college fraternity house.

(4) The Van Cortlandt House on Croton Bay.

estimated to have reached 182,000, of whom 21,000 were black. But in the first half of these thirteen years growth had been impossible, for then occurred the last and most destructive of the French Wars, when the map of the whole northern frontier of New York became dotted with forts and camps.[1] That region furnished sites for several important battles, Albany becoming the chief base of supplies, and a rendezvous for troops. Niagara, Lake George and Ticonderoga in those years witnessed many engagements, preliminary to that final combat further north, one of the decisive battles in the history of the world—the victory of Wolfe over Montcalm at Quebec.

[1] A partial list of the forts or fortified towns in the Province at that time would include these: In the Hudson Valley and on the lakes north of it, Fort George (in New York City), Rondout, Philipse Castle, Van Cortlandt Manor House, Fort Orange, Fort George (on Lake George), Fort Edward, Fort Ann, Fort Ticonderoga and Crown Point; on the Mohawk, Fort Johnson, Fort Hunter, Canajoharie, German Flats, Fort Stanwix, Fort Bull and Fort Brewerton; on Lake Ontario, Fort Oswego and Fort Niagara; on the Susquehanna, Cherry Valley and Oghwaga.

III

THE PIONEERS OF THE MOHAWK

KNOWLEDGE of the Mohawk is contemporary with the founding of the trading post at Albany. Two men, of whom one was named Kleynties, explored the Mohawk in that year or the next and went down the Susquehanna from Otsego Lake.[1] Champlain, for the French, in the same year (already in 1609 he had explored, almost to its head, the lake called after him—this was in the same year and season that Hudson sailed up the river bearing his name, the two men being only one hundred miles apart, and yet each was ignorant of the other's presence), visited central New York, coming by way of Lake Ontario, and thus probably reached some of the headwaters of the Mohawk.

All through the Dutch period, fur traders explored the Mohawk in their bark canoes, but white men founded no actual settlements there, until after the English had established their supremacy. The Dutch minister Megapolensis, however, had gone

[1] On this expedition was in part based the Figurative Map, the earliest map of the interior of New York. It shows all four of the rivers visited by Mr. Smith. The Visscher or Van der Donck map of before 1656 shows these rivers with many additional details.

into the country preaching to the Indians and visiting their castles.[1] Meanwhile, the French also had come—not as traders or soldiers, but as Jesuit missionaries, displaying a zeal and devotion "unsurpassed in the history of Christianity."[2]

First among the Jesuits was Isaac Jogues, who was brought into the Mohawk country as a captive and horribly tortured by the Indians, as he "followed them through the still November forest, and shared their wild bivouac in the depths of the wintry desolation."[3] Escaping from his captors, Jogues reached Manhattan Island, and thence sailed for France, but soon returned voluntarily as a missionary to the Mohawks, who now treacherously murdered him.[4] "One of the purest examples of Roman Catholic virtue which the Western world has seen," was Jogues.[5] Joseph Bressani, another captive missionary, came in 1644, and like Jogues was barbarously tortured. With only one finger of his right hand left entire, he wrote from the Mohawk to the general of his order in Rome, a letter stained with his own blood, his ink being "gunpowder mixed with water, and his table the earth."

The beginnings of actual settlements date from

[1] Megapolensis's "Treatise on the Mohawks."

[2] Morgan's "League of the Iroquois."

[3] Parkman's "Jesuits in North America."

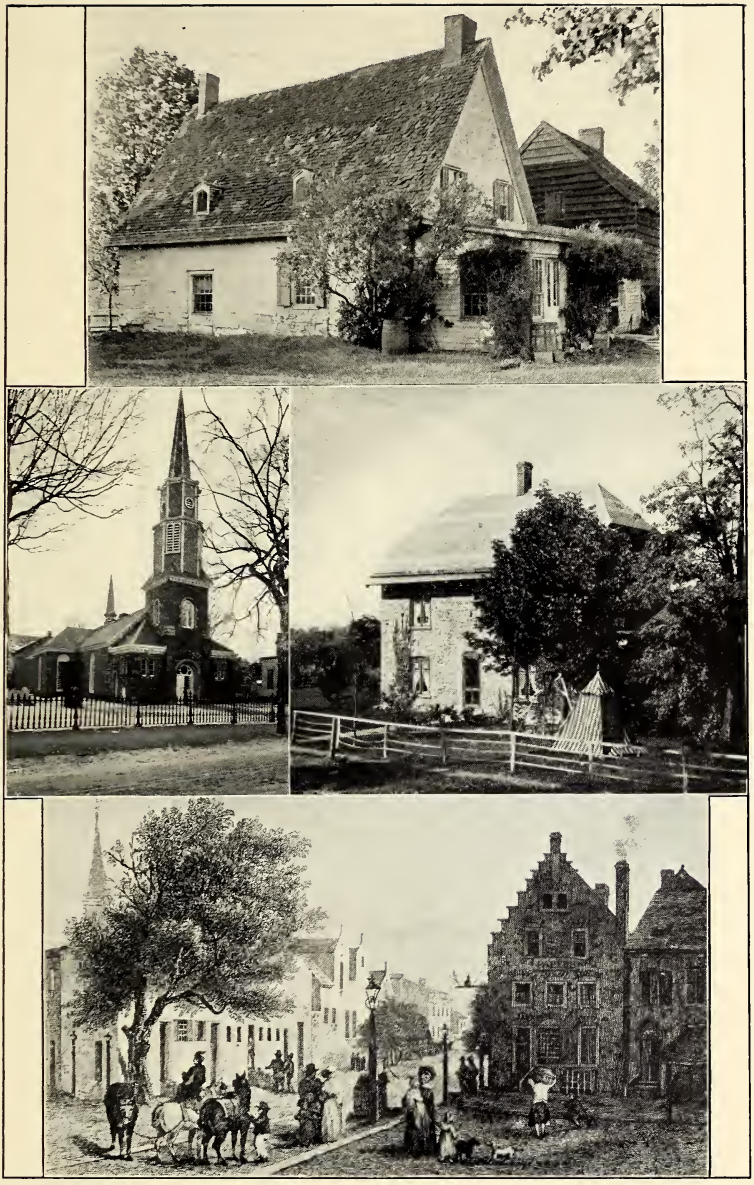
[4] This occurred near the present village of Auriesville, on the south side of the Mohawk, a few miles west of Fort Hunter.

[5] Parkman.

1662, when a grant of the "great flat" at Schenectady was made to Arent Van Curler, who soon began to build houses and erect mills. Van Curler had been an agent, or commissioner, of the Van Rensselaer estate and acquired much distinction in the frontier annals of his time. It was through his personal efforts that Jogues made his escape from captivity. At the same time Van Curler, by fair dealing, secured the lasting friendship of the Indians. By them he was always known as Corlear, and so much did they esteem him that ever afterwards the governors of the Province were called, not by their own names, but by his, and the governor's official residence to them was always "Corlear's house."

For more than ten years Schenectady remained the most remote settlement on the Mohawk, ranking as an outpost on the New York frontier, with Minisink as settled from the lower Hudson. Next followed a settlement at Rotterdam, eight miles west of Schenectady, where may still be seen the Mabie House, built in 1680, and now the oldest structure standing in the Mohawk Valley.[1] Meanwhile, the French continued to assert their claims to northern and western New York. De Curcelles, with 1,300 men, made an expedition against the Mohawks in 1665, and burned five of their castles, or palisaded villages, and La Salle, in 1669, took possession of Lake Erie and Lake Ontario, building a fort at

[1] W. Max Reid's "The Mohawk Valley."



COLONIAL BUILDINGS IN ALBANY AND ON THE MOHAWK

(1) The Mabie House near Rotterdam, built in 1680, and the oldest house now standing in the Mohawk Valley.

(2) St. George's church, Schenectady, built in 1759.

(3) The Queen Anne Parsonage in Fort Hunter, built in 1712.

(4) An Eighteenth Century Street Scene in Albany.

The first three from recent photographs. The last from an old print.

Niagara. Other Frenchmen in 1673 erected at what is now Kingston, Ontario, another fort to which they gave the name of Frontenac. The English seemed not to have fully understood the meaning of these events until 1675, when Governor Andros personally ascended the Mohawk to the site of Utica, where he met the chiefs of the Iroquois in a council extending over several days, the result of which was the appointment of an Indian commission that was to have marked influence on subsequent events in the conflict with the French.

Fourteen years later, Fort Niagara having been destroyed, a memorable invasion of the valley was made by the French, under Frontenac. Having reached Schenectady at night Frontenac, without being discovered, gained an entrance into the fortified town then comprising about forty "well-built houses." He "beset each house, murdered the inhabitants, and then burned the houses." Some sixty persons were killed, twenty-seven made prisoners, and twenty-seven others escaped to Albany.[1]

Important grants of land, leading to scandalous exposures and finally to a revocation of the grants, had been made in those early days on the Mohawk. They included one to a man named Penhorne that was fifty miles long and two miles wide, one to Captain Evans forty miles by thirty, and a still larger one to Dr. Dellius, a Dutch minister who labored

[1] "Documentary History of the State of New York."

among the Mohawks. This reckless disposal of some of the most valuable lands of the Province was made in the time of Governor Fletcher.

When Lord Bellomont came over as Fletcher's successor, severe representations were made to the home government as to what these grants meant. Bellomont, in 1698, wrote that the Dellius tract was reported to be eighty-six miles long and twenty-five broad, or 1,376,000 acres in extent, "which is a prodigious tract of country to grant away to a stranger that has not a child, that is not denizened, and in a word a man that has not any sort of virtue or merit." Moreover, there was "not a Christian inhabitant on either of his grants." The same was true of Captain Evans's tract, which "has but one house on it, or rather a hut where a poor man lives."[1]

Bellomont pointed out that the most serious feature of these large grants was the harm they would do to the English alliance with the Indians, since they would "constrain and force the Indians of the Maquase[2] nation to desert this province, and fly to the French." He added that "it was impossible while things remained so, that the country can ever be settled or peopled, the grantees being too few to do it." The Mohawks had been "the best guard and security to these frontiers," and if they were dispossessed, it would be difficult for the English to resist the French.

[1] Letter to the Lords of Trade and Plantations.

[2] Mohawk.

Moreover, others of the Five Nations would follow the Mohawks, and New York was "the safeguard and chief defence of all His Majesty's northern plantations."

After these patents had finally been vacated, the Mohawk territory began to be partitioned off into small grants, the earliest dating from 1703, but it was not until fifty years afterward, that the entire south side of the stream passed into private hands, the grants then numbering twenty-eight. Meanwhile, to the north of Schenectady, and lying just west of the Hudson, had been made the large grant known as Kayaderosseras, which comprised 256,000 acres, partitioned among thirteen persons. It was settled with much difficulty.[1]

In the first part of the new century, settlers could do little toward peopling the Mohawk. Even the Peace of Utrecht[2] in 1713 was not followed by active immigration, the government being slow to offer incentives. When Governor Burnet established a trading post at Oswego his act was heralded as a sign of exceptional enterprise by a royal governor, and so indeed it remains as a fact in the history of the State. A new "thirst for land" then set in, and some little progress was made.

While many small patents were being issued, a missionary work going forward in the valley exercised

[1] See a map of these grants in the "Documentary History of the State of New York."

[2] By this Peace was ended the War of the Spanish Succession.

considerable influence on its development. Governor Dongan was the first among the royal governors who saw the importance of this work as a matter of state policy. It was necessary that Protestants, as representing English interests, should counteract the work of the Jesuits who represented the interests of France. In 1687, Dongan asked the Indians not to "receive any French priests any more, having sent for English where you can be supplied with all to content." He wrote to the home government asking for five or six ministers to live at the Indian castles and thus oblige the French priests "to return to Canada, whereby the French will be divested of their pretences to the country, and then we shall enjoy that trade without any fear of its being diverted."[1] Dongan was soon afterward recalled, but his policy had made some headway and in 1700 an act was passed "against Jesuits and Popish priests."

Protestant missionaries then came in. At Schenectady, in 1701, was stationed Bernardus Freeman, a Calvinist, who reported that thirty-five Mohawks out of one hundred were Christians, and that he had translated into the Mohawk tongue the Ten Commandments, the Athenasian Creed, and parts of the Prayer Book. Then came Thoroughgood Moor, who labored among the Mohawks three years and was followed by William Andrews, who also remained three

[1] "Documentary History of the State of New York."

years. It was within this period that a fort one hundred and fifty feet square, with a block-house at each corner, and a school house thirty by twelve feet, was built at Fort Hunter. Queen Anne was the moving spirit in this enterprise, having been inspired to it by the visit which Col. Peter Schuyler, formerly Mayor of Albany, made to London in 1710, Schuyler taking with him four Indian kings. One of these kings was the grandfather of the Mohawk leader Joseph Brant, who in Mr. Smith's tour became his guide on the Susquehanna.[1] Mr. Andrews's labors came to a close in 1718. Among those who followed him were John Miln and Henry Barclay. Barclay in 1743 reported that only a few unbaptised Mohawks remained. Under the influence of these missionaries a few settlements were founded.

The chief obstacle to settlements, wrote Lieutenant Governor Clarke, had been "the massacres in King William's War by the French and Indians, so that very little progress was possible until the Peace of Utrecht." After that date, a few farmers began to settle on the Mohawk. The crops grown by them were good and more families soon came in. But war again broke out with the French of Canada in 1745, when a descent was made upon Saratoga, and forty houses were destroyed and one hundred pris-

[1] At Fort Hunter still stands what is known as the Queen Anne Parsonage, which has come down from 1712.

oners captured. Destruction was also done elsewhere on the frontier until the more remote parts of the County of Albany became a scene of desolation.

In the midst of the work done by the missionaries, there arrived in the valley a man who was destined to give a great impetus to settlements and finally to dominate its interests for quite thirty years. During that period his influence with the Indians became so great that to him more than to all other persons is to be ascribed the important aid the Indians rendered in the final overthrow of the French power. William Johnson (afterwards Sir William) came to the Mohawk Valley in 1738, as the agent of his uncle, Sir Peter Warren, who had a large grant west of Schenectady, and south of the Mohawk. Johnson founded a settlement beyond Fort Hunter, to which he gave the name of Warren's Bush. Here he cleared land, built mills, opened roads, and arranged to bring in settlers.

Of this work we gain an important hint in a letter from Lieut. Governor Clarke, to the home government, in 1736, in which he refers to "a scheme to settle the Mohawk country which I have the pleasure to hear from Ireland and Scotland, is like to succeed." In brief, the scheme was to give 100,000 acres to the first 500 Protestant families that came from Europe "in 200 acres to a family, who being settlers, would draw thousands to them." [1]

[1] Letter to the Lords of Trade and Plantations.

Johnson remained five years at Warren's Bush, and in that time sold off on easy terms two-thirds of his uncle's lands, and then, having obtained for himself a tract of several thousand acres on the north side of the river, near Amsterdam, removed to it in 1743, and there built a saw and grist mill, as well as the stone house called Fort Johnson, which still stands there. In 1741 Johnson had brought in sixty Scotch-Irish families, giving them lands on long leases at nominal rent, and thus had gathered about him a loyal band of feudal followers.[1] Some German refugees having come to New York, he induced them to settle on the Mohawk, their number being about 160. Meanwhile, he carried on an active trade with Indians, and soon had established at Oghwaga, on the Susquehanna, a trading post, Oghwaga then having 100 Indian lodges. About 1745 he imported from England a breeding stud of horses, as well as cattle and sheep, the horses numbering thirty, the cattle forty, and the sheep 100. By 1746, he was shipping flour to the West Indies, and was the largest slave holder in the Province, having sixty or seventy slaves.

Thus had the Mohawk entered upon a condition in which it could be said to have become settled from Schenectady to its western limits, but a new war broke out with France, with dangers to the frontier greater than ever before. In 1755, Brad-

[1] Buell's "Sir William Johnson" (1903).

dock was defeated on the western borders of Pennsylvania, and in 1756 Oswego was lost to the French. Johnson defeated the French at Lake George in 1755, but in 1757 a terrible blow fell upon the frontier in the massacre of German Flats, where on the upper Mohawk in 1751 had arisen a village of sixty dwellings and about 300 souls. Aroused by the French under Belêtre at three o'clock in the morning, forty or fifty persons were killed, 130 made prisoners, and their buildings burned. Such was the destruction that when Lord Howe arrived he found "nothing but an abandoned slaughter-field." Consternation struck the frontier, the settlers sending their goods and valuables to Albany and Schenectady, until it "seemed as if these settlements would be entirely depopulated."[1] At this time, in 1758, was built Fort Stanwix to guard the Mohawk from the west, while Albany became the chief rendezvous for troops bound for that fort and for points in the Champlain Valley.

How well the valley had now become peopled appears in a contemporary statement. At Canajoharie, where Mr. Smith left the Mohawk to reach the Susquehanna, there stood in 1858 a fort 100 paces in size on each side, surrounded by a ditch and four bastions, with pickets fifteen feet high, portholes, and a stage all around for firing. At each

[1] Stone's "Life of Brant."

bastion were small cannon.[1] A good road ran from Canajoharie to Fort Hunter, twelve leagues away, there being 100 houses on the road, occupied mainly by Germans. At Fort Hunter, the cannon were seven and eight pounders, a church being inside the fort, besides thirty cabins for the Indians. From Fort Hunter to Schenectady, a distance of seven leagues, were twenty or thirty houses, occupied by Dutch settlers. Schenectady had 300 houses surrounded by pickets with a fort in the centre of the village, half masonry and half timber, with four bastions, a battery of cannon on the ramparts, and capable of holding 200 or 300 people. Between Schenectady and Albany were two houses.

On the north side of the river, in the same year, from the mouth of Canada Creek to Fort Johnson, a distance of twelve leagues, were about 500 houses, mostly built of stone, and occupied by Germans, but with no fort for the whole distance. From Fort Johnson to Schenectady were twenty houses.

When peace was declared in 1763, Acting Governor Colden issued a proclamation inviting settlers, and many came into the valley. A temporary reaction followed during the conspiracy of Pontiac, when many thought of abandoning their homes. Johnson then had 120 families as tenants on his new estate, north of the old one, in what is now Johnstown,

[1] "Documentary History of the State of New York."

where he built a new house, in which his beneficent labors came to a close in 1774, the most notable achievement of his last years being the Treaty of Fort Stanwix.

IV

THE PIONEERS OF THE SUSQUEHANNA

THE latest of these four valleys to be settled—latest by more than 100 years—was the Susquehanna.[1] In a sense the river was discovered slightly in advance of Henry Hudson's visit to the Hudson and Delaware. This discovery, however, related only to its mouth, as visited by Capt. John Smith in the summer of 1608. To the Dutch the Susquehanna was not known until Kleynties and his companion in 1614, after exploring the Mohawk, passed southward from Otsego Lake. That it was soon afterward visited by the early Dutch traders from Albany and Schenectady, may be assumed. These men are known to have penetrated to many remote parts, but French traders may have anticipated them. It is more likely still that French missionaries were contemporary with the Dutch—Jogues, Bruyas and Milet.

Oghwaga, on the Susquehanna, was already an ancient Indian town—one of the oldest in the Prov-

[1] Susquehanna is an Algonquin word, meaning river with long reaches. The Iroquois name for it was Ga-wa-no-wa-na-neh Gahunda, meaning great island river.

ince. Originally founded by Mohawks who had had differences with their brethren in the Mohawk Valley, it had become the home also of discontented Oneidas, and finally of Tuscaroras, until the assortment of tribes living there was important enough to acquire a name of its own—the Och-tagh-quan-a-we-croones. Oghwaga was long a central trading post for the Susquehanna and Delaware Rivers. Here from the far West and South, came Indians to meet the Dutch. Its first occupation by the Mohawks as a village has been placed as far back as 1550.[1]

Other Indian villages, but much smaller ones, and of a more temporary character, lay at the mouths of several streams flowing into the Susquehanna, such as the Unadilla and Charlotte Rivers, and the Otego and Schenevus Creeks, while at Otsego Lake dwelt Indians who are referred to on the Visscher map as "Canoo-makers." Three miles above the mouth of the Unadilla, on the old Indian trail, long existed a heap of field stones, known to the white people as the Indian Monument—a sort of cairn that had grown up from the Indian custom of throwing a stone upon the spot when passing that way. This custom was understood to be a form of recognition by the Indians of the existence of a supreme being. The monument disappeared about thirty years ago. At the mouth of the same river, there existed in the time of the first settlement of the place remains of an aborig-

[1] Buell's "Sir William Johnson" (1903).

inal fort, which Indian tradition said had been erected "five hundred summers ago." In comprised three acres of land, and was enclosed by a ditch.

In Governor Dongan's time, it was recommended that traders be sent out to form camps or settlements on the banks of the Susquehanna as being nearer to the Indians than Albany, and "consequently the Indians more inclinable to go there." Dongan in 1686 made a formal request to the Indians to see that neither French nor English, "go and live on the Susquehanna, nor hunt nor trade without my pass and seal." The Indians were to seize any men who should come without proper passports and deliver them in Albany "where care shall be taken for punishing them."[1]

With the more serious aspects that now arose in the trouble with the French of Canada, nothing for more than a generation was actually done to people the Susquehanna. In 1722 Governor Burnet sent out several young men to Oghwaga as traders, and in 1737 Cadwallader Colden, in an official report, declared that "goods may be carried from this lake (Otsego) in battoes, or flat bottomed vessels, through Pennsylvania to Maryland and Virginia"—an opportunity which had been improved as early as 1723, when thirty families of Palatine Germans, after trouble over their lands in Schoharie, passed down the river and founded settlements in Pennsylvania, thus becoming

[1] "Documentary History of the State of New York."

among the advance guard of the so-called "Pennsylvania Dutch." They were followed in 1725 by fifty other Palatine families, and in 1729 by another company. Older residents still living fifty years ago, at the mouth of the Charlotte River, could remember having seen standing the stumps of trees which these pioneers had felled to make the canoes in which they went down the Susquehanna.

Not until Sir William Johnson's time was Oghwaga permanently occupied by Europeans as a trading post. This occurred in 1741, only three years after Johnson arrived in the Mohawk Valley. Soon after he became established at Oghwaga, missionaries from New England began at that place an important work among the Indians, which lasted about thirty years. The first of these was probably John Sergeant, who came in 1744, followed soon by David Brainard, and he in turn by Elihu Spencer. In 1748 Mr. Spencer made a translation into the Mohawk tongue of the Lord's Prayer,[1] of which the first words are: "Soung-wan-ne-ha, cau-roun-kyaw-ga." From Spencer's time until the Revolution, New England missionaries (except for a short interruption due to the French War, a threatened invasion by Delaware Indians after the defeat of Braddock) were constantly at Oghwaga. Among those men were Gideon Hawley, Samuel Kirkland, Eleazer Moseley, Eli Forbes and Aaron Crosby.[2]

[1] Printed in Smith's "History of New York."

[2] An account in detail of the work done by these men at Oghwaga is given in "The Old New York Frontier."

The white man's first title to the lands on the Susquehanna was acquired in 1684, when, in an offensive and defensive alliance, formed at Albany between the English and the Indians, the Indians, in a formal instrument signed and sealed, declared "we have given the Susquehanna river, which we won with the sword, to this government, and desire that it may be a branch of the Great Tree which grows in this place, the top of which reaches the sun."[1] It does not appear that the Indians intended this as a conveyance of all right and title, but rather as part of a treaty of alliance with the English, they still retaining the right to live and hunt on the river.

Contemporary with the arrival of the missionaries, was the granting of land titles by the Provincial government. John Lindesay, in 1738, obtained a large patent at the head of Cherry Valley Creek, and in the same year, Arendt Bradt one on Schenevus Creek, while on Otsego Lake, a patent was obtained by one Petrie and on Canadurango Lake at Richfield another was secured by David Schuyler. In 1751, Sir William Johnson acquired his vast tract, two miles wide, extending along the Susquehanna River from the mouth of the Charlotte to the Pennsylvania boundary, being 100,000 acres, of which the part extending from the Charlotte to the mouth of the Unadilla is now known as the Wallace Patent.

With a few others, these comprise the patents that were granted on the upper Susquehanna before the

[1] "Documentary History of the State of New York."

negotiation of the Fort Stanwix Treaty in 1768. They had been the means, however, of planting the first permanant settlements on the headwaters of this stream. Mr. Lindesay, who had been Naval Officer of the port of New York, as well as Sheriff of Albany County, came into the country in 1738, with his wife and his father-in-law, besides a few servants. He spent the winter on these lands, during which his family was saved from starvation by an Indian from Oghwaga who secured food in the Mohawk Valley. Mr. Lindesay then induced a young clergyman named Samuel Dunlop, whom he had known in New York, to come to the settlement, and in 1741 Mr. Dunlop prevailed upon several Scotch-Irish families from Londonderry, N. H., to settle on Mr. Lindesay's patent.

Such were the beginnings of the most important settlement made before the Revolution, south of the Mohawk. It marked for many years the extreme outpost of civilization on the frontier of New York. What is more important, it brought to the frontier the advance guard of what proved to be a considerable band of Scotch-Irish people, who, during the next thirty years planted settlements at other points on the Susquehanna. When the Revolution began, it was these frontiersmen who, joining with the Germans and Dutch of the Mohawk Valley, formed that enthusiastic and efficient body known as the Tryon County Militia, by whom was forced back-

ward the rising tide of Tory sentiment, which otherwise might have preserved for the English cause the New York frontier.

Under Mr. Dunlop's influence a log church was soon built in Cherry Valley, but the settlement grew slowly in consequence of the renewal of troubles with the French. Ten years had passed before a second company of Scotch-Irish arrived. They were followed in 1754 by the Harper family, including several men who won distinction in the Border Wars. In 1769 the settlement embraced forty or fifty families, who made up a thriving, energetic community.

Other but smaller settlements grew up elsewhere in this hill country. At the foot of Canadurango Lake in 1758 was formed what was known as the Herkimer settlement. About the same time, the Tunnicliffe family settled at Richfield. John C. Hartwick attempted a settlement below Otsego Lake in 1761, but seems not to have succeeded until later. Nicholas Lowe took up lands in Springfield in 1762; Joachim Van Valkenberg settled at the mouth of Schenevus Creek in 1765; Percefer Carr, as the agent of Col. Edmeston, settled on the Unadilla River in 1765; and a few German families took up lands in Middlefield in 1767.

Then came the Fort Stanwix Treaty, after which the Susquehanna lands were quickly portioned off, and the way opened for pioneers whose titles could no longer be questioned, and whose fears of war with

the French and Indians were definitely at rest. John Butler obtained his grant in 1769, and George Croghan in the same year secured his tract comprising 100,000 acres on Otsego Lake, and made an attempt to found a settlement. Augustine Prevost, Croghan's son-in-law, began a settlement at the head of the lake in the same year. Some Scotch-Irish people about the same time pushed further down the valley, and at the mouth of the Ouleout Creek formed a settlement called Albout, while at the mouth of the Unadilla, Rev. William Johnston formed another and larger one, which was in a thriving state when the Border Wars began. Just south of the Susquehanna settlements two New York merchants, famous in their time, William Walton, and Lawrence Kortright, secured large tracts, bordering on the Delaware, now embracing each a township, bearing the Walton and Kortright names.

At the time of Mr. Smith's visit, there must have been altogether about 100 families in these scattered settlements on the upper Susquehanna. With rare exceptions, they all became patriots in the Revolution, and in consequence their homes were destroyed by fire, many of them were massacred, and those who survived either fled from the country in terror, or served against the British in the Tryon County Militia.

V

THE PIONEERS OF THE DELAWARE

BY its own name, the Delaware River proclaims how all that once was Indian in its ownership has forever passed away. Formerly it was the home of Indians who by the English have commonly been called the Delawares, but before the middle of the eighteenth century the river had altogether ceased to be theirs.

To the Dutch the Delaware was first known as the South River, its present name having been bestowed by the English, after its surrender to them by the Dutch. The Indians called it the Kithanne, meaning the largest stream, and usually called themselves Lenni-Lenapes, meaning real men, or, as some interpreters say, the original people; but they also used as their own name the name Dyo-Hens-Govola, meaning people of the morning. The latter term was usually employed by the Senecas, and perhaps was introduced by the Senecas, to whom the Delawares became subject. By people of the morning, reference was made to an Eastern origin, the accepted tradition being that, at the time of the discovery of America by Columbus, they were living on Manhattan Island. Lenni-Lenape, however, is the older and more proper name for these Indians.

The Dutch have commonly been credited with originating the word Manhattan, but the Delawares are believed themselves to have employed it, its meaning being a place where good timber for bows and arrows can be secured, the hickory trees which grew at the lower end of the island having possessed peculiar strength. It is a curious circumstance that, long after the dominion of these Indians over Manhattan Island had passed away, another dominion over it was acquired by a political organization which derived its name from a noted Delaware chief.[1]

The coming of white men to the Delaware began as early as their coming to the other great rivers visited by Mr. Smith. Henry Hudson discovered the Delaware in the same year in which he sailed up the Hudson, and the first settlements on its lower waters were made at about the same time as those on Manhattan Island and in Albany. In 1626 the Dutch built on its banks, for use in the fur trade, Fort Nassau, the site of which was about four miles below Camden. This was the first settlement made by Europeans on the Delaware River. Seven years later came the Swedes and Finns, who were so successful as fur traders that in 1644 they were able to send

[1] Tamanend was the original form of the word Tammany, the chief of that name having died about 1740. His name appears on deeds to Delaware lands, dated in 1683, and 1697, and he is believed to have been buried in New Britain Township, Bucks County, Penn. His traditional reputation is that of an Indian who was conspicuous for wisdom and benevolence. He appears in Cooper's "The Last of the Mohicans."

OLD SWEDISH, OR HOLY TRINITY, CHURCH IN WILMINGTON, DELAWARE

BUILT IN 1698 AND, IN CONTINUOUS OCCUPATION, SAID TO BE THE OLDEST CHURCH BUILDING IN THE UNITED STATES

From a sketch made by Benjamin Ferris in 1845 and engraved by John Sartain

two vessels to Europe, in which were 6,127 packages of beaver skins and 70,420 pounds of tobacco. In consequence of this rivalry, the Dutch, after what became almost armed conflict, forced the Swedes and Finns into subjection.

The lands which these pioneers had taken up lay along Delaware Bay and the lower waters of the river. None of the settlements before 1664 had been planted further north than Philadelphia. Not until 1675 was Burlington founded, and then only as a trading post bearing the name New Beverly. Two years later Quakers settled there, and with the Swedes and Finns became the only settlers in a real sense. The Dutch primarily were traders, but the others took to husbandry. The points which the Dutch occupied lay along the Bay, but the Swedes and Finns "sought the freshes of the river Delaware."[1]

Thus the Delaware had become a home of white men half a century before William Penn negotiated his Treaty with the Indians at Shackamaxon, now a part of Philadelphia. At the time of his coming, a few settlements had been made further up the river, in what is now Bucks County, Pennsylvania, which included points perhaps as far north as Easton.[2] Growth was rapid after Penn made his treaty. In two years, that is in 1684, he had perhaps six thousand

[1] William Penn's "Description of the Province of Pennsylvania" (1683).

[2] Buell in his "Life of Penn" (1904) says: "There were about a thousand—some say 1,200—white inhabitants already in the territory granted to Penn."

people in his province, of whom one fourth were the original Swedes, Finns and Dutch. Philadelphia had three hundred houses and 2,500 inhabitants.

Meanwhile, on the lower eastern shore of the Delaware, had been begun settlements which eventually were to form parts of another state. In 1677, Penn had founded his colony of West Jersey, which in 1680 had three thousand inhabitants, who had come into the country chiefly under his influence. These immigrants in the main settled below Burlington, but not many years elapsed before settlers had gone to the fertile lands further north. In 1678, when the line was drawn dividing West Jersey from East Jersey, the peopling of the northern part of this valley was kept well in mind. In order that West Jersey might include the entire valley south of what should be claimed by New York, the line was made to run from Little Egg Harbor on the Atlantic coast ten miles above Atlantic City, in a straight line northwest, to Cushietunk, on the Delaware. Cushietunk was forty miles above Port Jervis, and is now known as Cochecton, a station on the main line of the Erie Railway.[1]

For half a century afterwards Indians continued to dwell on the Delaware. In 1718 a deed of release to the Forks of the Delaware[2] was given by

[1] Parts of this line still survive on the New Jersey map as county lines, notably those between Ocean and Burlington, Somerset and Hunterdon Counties.

[2] Now Easton; the Lehigh, which flows into the Delaware at this point, being then called the West Branch of the Delaware.

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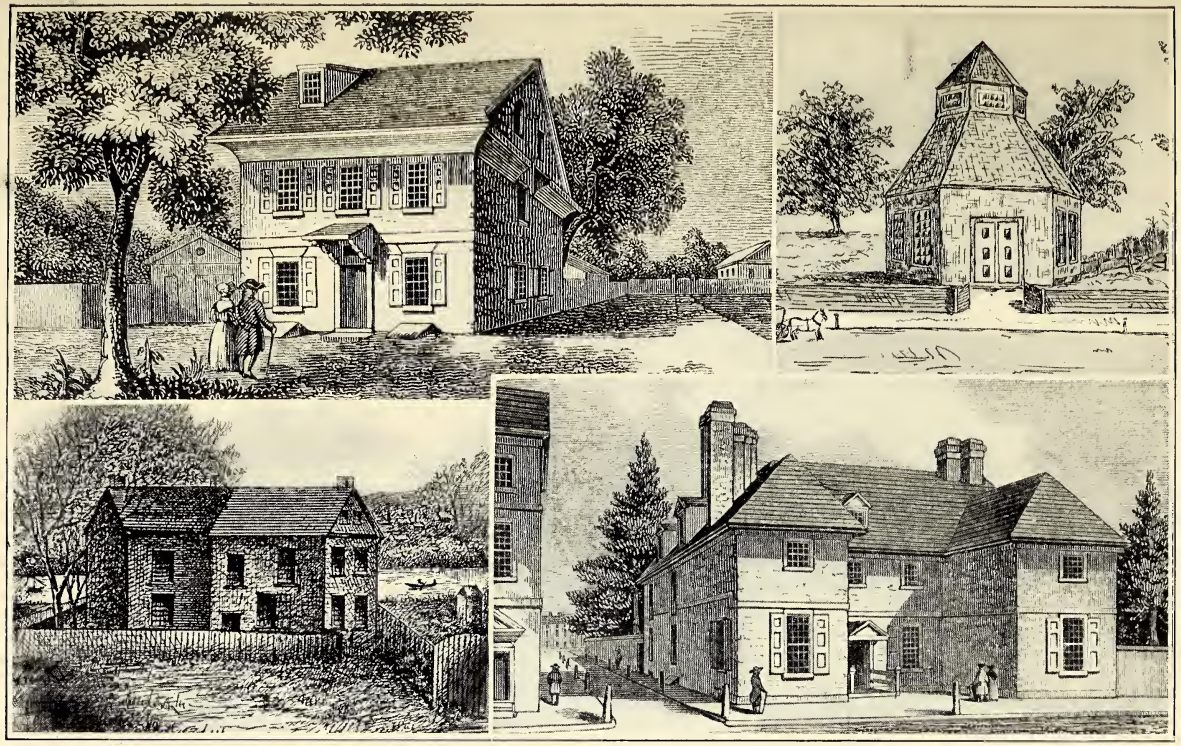


COLONIAL BUILDINGS ON THE DELAWARE

(1) The Laetitia House on its old site. Now standing as re-erected in Fairmount Park, Philadelphia. Built by William Penn and for a time his home.

(2) The Quaker Meeting House in Burlington (1683–1787).

(3) The Old Patrick Colvin Ferry House, still standing opposite Trenton.

(4) The Slate Roof House in Philadelphia. Occupied by William Penn from 1699 to 1700.

From old prints

them and settlements followed. What was known as the Walking Purchase belongs to a later period. The character of this purchase is indicated by its name. A man familiar with the land and capable of pedestrian feats was employed to secure as much land as possible from the Indians in a walk during the time arranged for in the agreement. Indians, however, were not willing to leave this territory altogether, and becoming troublesome, the Iroquois, in 1746, were appealed to for aid in forcing them away. The Delawares being subject to the Iroquois, were finally obliged to depart. They then formed villages further west, mainly on the Susquehanna about Wyoming.

More than a thousand Palatine Germans, between 1725 and 1740, came to the Delaware neighborhood of which the "Forks" were the center. As early as 1752 their commercial needs had created a promising village of about forty souls, now known as Easton, and ten years later its population had increased to 250, mostly Germans.[1] Elsewhere along the river the population had advanced rapidly under the impetus given by the policy of Penn, whose colony in 1714 boasted a population of 60,000, of whom more than one half had been acquired in eleven years. People other than Quakers came in large numbers in 1712 and 1713 and were mainly Germans, Swiss, Huguenots and Scotch-Irish.[2]

[1] H. M. Kieffer's "First Settlers at the Forks of the Delaware."

[2] Buell's "Life of Penn."

Under other influences settlements had already been founded in the Port Jervis neighborhood. Here, in a territory known as Minisink, which derived its name from the Mimsi Indians,[1] tradition points to the arrival of white men, in the period from 1632 to 1640. "In some former age," says Nicholas Depuis, a descendant of an original settler, "there came a company of miners from Holland, supposed to have been a rich and great people, from the labor they bestowed in opening two mines—one on the Delaware, where the mountain nearly approaches the lower point of Pahaquarry Flat; the other at the foot of some mountain half way between Delaware and Esopus, and in making the mine road from the Delaware to Esopus, a distance of 100 miles."[2] Other settlers subsequently came from Holland by way of the Hudson, taking up large tracts of lands on the Delaware, among them Huguenots who date from 1690, and reached Minisink by way of Kingston. Eventually this grew to be a well-established neighborhood—certainly the largest and probably the earliest founded in the American Colonies at a place so remote from navigable waters. Mention has already been made of the massacre which occurred there in 1669.

[1] Thus often stated, but it may be that the Indians got their name from the place, the meaning of which is given by Beauchamp as land from which the water has gone out. This definition pointed to a tradition that in this region had once existed a large lake the waters of which were released when the Delaware forced its way through the Water Gap.

[2] Quoted in "Gordon's History of New Jersey" (1834.)

When this community spread further southward serious trouble arose. The new County of Sussex in New Jersey, had been formed, with a line extending so far northward, that it was claimed to be an invasion of "the bounds formerly set for Minisink." The New York government complained that officers of Orange County, in which lay Minisink, had been "repeatedly beaten, insulted, and prevented from the execution of their respective offices; taken prisoners, carried to points in New Jersey remote from their settlements and thrown into jail." The people of New Jersey, it was further asserted, "as often as they are able," possessed themselves of vacant lands in Orange County, and "frequently beset the homes of subjects by night and attempted to seize and take prisoners of his majesties subjects." [1]

In 1753, on the eve of the last French War, trouble still existed over this boundary, being described as "great and continuous quarrels and tumults between the persons near the contested bounds and bloodshed and murder were like to ensue." Invasions had been made by New York men, "even down to Minisink's Island, a place about forty miles below North Station Point." [2] In 1754, Thomas DeKay made affidavit that "for some time before he left home, he was every night obliged to nail up all his doors, excepting one at which he placed a guard for fear of being surprised

[1] "Documents Relating to the Colonial History of New Jersey."

[2] Cushietunk, or Cochecton. Cushietunk was formerly the name of a much larger territory than it is now.

in his bed by the people of New Jersey, who have sundry times declared they were resolved to take him prisoner and carry him to New Jersey."[1]

One reason for the activity of the Delaware Indians, which now began on the side of the French, was their discontent at having been forced away from their own valley. With the defeat of Braddock in 1755, they took new courage to redress their wrongs, and were described as "roaming among the passes of the mountains unmolested, until between the Delaware and Potomac the frontier had been lighted up with the blaze of burning cottages." Governor Belcher of New Jersey wrote to Governor Morris of Pennsylvania that the "enemy have a few days ago burned a town at Minisink, and put the inhabitants to death,"[2] and added that he had had "between two thousand and three thousand the week past marching and counter-marching toward the borders of this province," while in addition "near two thousand men were ranging the woods and frontiers."

It had accordingly been resolved to build forts and block-houses, "where it should be judged most proper on the River Delaware, into which to distribute about three hundred men." In 1758, it was proposed that the whole frontier "be guarded to the length of 90 miles on the Delaware"; that there be erected on this line ten miles apart "ten houses forti-

[1] "Documents Relating to the Colonial History of New Jersey."

[2] This report afterwards proved to be unfounded.

fied against muskets," and to have a guard of twenty-five men at each of these houses, "with a sufficient number of dogs who are very useful in scenting the track of the Indians, and preventing ambuscades." Patrols, three or four times a day, were to pass from house to house.[1] Some of these forts, as shown on an English map, compiled twenty years afterward, were Reading, Van Camp, Walpack, Headquarters, Nominack, Shipeconk, and Jersey.[2]

One of the reports of desolation wrought by the Delawares, in Northampton County, Pennsylvania, in which lies Easton, named fifty houses burned, and one hundred persons murdered or taken into captivity. Even the upper Susquehanna was threatened, Gideon Hawley, the missionary at Oghwaga, being obliged to retreat to Cherry Valley. Indians who were expected to devastate the whole Pennsylvania frontier, started north early in 1756, until from Shamokin to Wyalusing, "there reigned the silence

1 "Documents Relating to the Colonial History of New Jersey."

2 "American Military Pocket Atlas" (1776), which related in particular to the regions "which now are, or probably may be, the theatre of war." This atlas, now very rare, was published by the British Admiralty and Board of Trade, having been "improved from recent surveys." A copy has been kindly lent to me by Archibald W. Speir who acquired it from the Brinley collection.

One of the curious errors in the atlas is that all Western New York, beyond the Fort Stanwix Line of Property, is given to Pennsylvania, thus ignoring the Indian title to that country, as confirmed in the Fort Stanwix Treaty. On this map the Delaware above Port Jervis is called the Great Viskill. Jay Gould, in his "History of Delaware County," says the West Branch of the Delaware in early times was called the Fishkill.

of the grave."[1] It was at this time that Major Wells built the fort at Oghwaga under instructions from Sir William Johnson.

Earliest of the settlements above Port Jervis was one on the west side of the river at Cushietunk. It lay at the foot of a mountain called by the same name and rising from the Pennsylvania side of the river. This was the first of the settlements made in Pennsylvania by those Connecticut people, who claimed to own the lands of that Province between the 41st and 42nd parallels, a claim out of which afterwards grew their settlements at Wyoming.

In 1750 men had been sent from Connecticut to view these lands, and in 1753 was formed the Susquehanna Company, comprising 840 families, afterwards increased to 1,200, but owing to the Indian troubles no actual settlement was made at Wyoming until 1762. Meanwhile had been formed the Delaware Company, composed also of Connecticut people, and by them in 1757, after the company had bought the Indian title, was made the settlement at Cushietunk, out of which five years later had grown a cluster of rude log cabins, housing thirty families.[2] This settlement encountered opposition from the proprietary or Penn government of Pennsylvania which sought to destroy it. A proclamation of warning was issued and other aggressive steps were taken. The Cushietunk settlement was not only an actual

[1] Kulp's "Families of the Wyoming Valley."

[2] Alfred Mathews's "Ohio and her Western Reserve" (1902).

part of the Connecticut invasion of Pennsylvania, but the pioneer among those settlements. Comtemporary with it was a smaller settlement at the mouth of the East Branch of the Delaware about twenty-five miles further north.[1]

In 1762 about 200 Connecticut families crossed through the Minisink country and by way of the Delaware went to Wyoming. The Delaware Indians claiming these lands, attacked the settlers, and wounded twenty of them. In 1769 forty armed men were sent out from Connecticut to occupy and defend Wyoming and were to be reinforced by 200 others. At this time was built what is known as Forty Fort, a name still retained as that of a village on the river opposite, but above, Wilkes Barre. The forty men on arrival were arrested and taken to Easton, where they were thrown into prison, but new settlers soon followed until by the end of 1770, about 6,000 men altogether had gone into Wyoming from Connecticut. A few families at the same time took up homes on the Delaware, the Pennsylvania side of which between the forty-first and forty-second parallels came within the limits of the County of Westmoreland which Connecticut had formed in Pennsylvania.[2]

[1] Now Hancock.

[2] When finally, in 1778, these pioneers in Wyoming were attacked and many of them massacred by Indians and Tories, those who survived returned to Connecticut by way of the Pocono Mountains, thence crossing the Delaware, and proceeding through the Minisink country. After they had passed through a region known as the Shades of Death they found their first shelter at Fort Penn, which is now Stroudsburg, near the Delaware Water Gap.

The Delaware settlements from Cookooze (now Deposit), where, in 1769, were living the only Delaware Indians inhabiting the stream that bears their name, down to Port Jervis, while few in number and at best forming a sparsely settled territory, were now able to produce enough farm products, in excess of their own needs, to require shipments to market. For this purpose long flat boats called Durham boats were put into service, having a capacity of five or six hundred bushels each. Owing to the rapids in the Delaware, and the shallow water at many points, shipments were made only in times of high water.[1]

At the head of the West Branch of the Delaware, a small settlement had been begun before the Revolution, at the place now known as Stamford, while on the East Branch, at Margaretville, was founded a larger one. Here at Margaretville, before 1763, pioneers who were probably Walloons or Huguenots had taken up lands. They came from Esopus, which was distant only forty-five miles, and occupied the site of an ancient Indian village. Dutchmen came in later, until a thriving little settlement was established there. Lands for a distance of more than twenty miles along the river passed under cultivation, and schools in which instruction was given in Dutch were founded. There still remains at Margaretville a graveyard in which these pioneers interred their dead. When the Revolution began about thirty

[1] Gordon's "History of New Jersey."

people were living in these settlements on the head waters of the Delaware.[1]

Such in outline are the circumstances in which, when Mr. Smith made his interesting tour, the valleys of these four rivers had been explored, and such is the extent to which they had been peopled. All had then been known to Europeans for about a century and a half,—much longer in fact than the period from the Revolutionary War down to our own day—and yet they were everywhere so sparsely settled, that the total of inhabitants of all four valleys probably was not equal to the present population of Newark.

[1] Jay Gould's "History of Delaware County."

PART II

A TOUR OF FOUR GREAT RIVERS

I

THE HUDSON; BY SLOOP FROM NEW YORK TO ALBANY, 164 MILES, MAY 5-MAY 11, 1769

With a View to survey a large Tract of Land then lately purchased from the Indians I departed from Burlington for Otego May 3d. 1769 in company with Richd. Wells, now of Philadelphia and the Surveyors Joseph Biddle Junr. & William Ridgway as also John Hicks. We dined at Crosswicks[1] and lodged at Cranbury.

May 4. We dined at Woodbridge, called by the Way at Brunswick and viewed the Town and Mineral Works; passed thro' Elizabeth Town and lodged at Newark.

5th. In the Morng we arrived at Paulus Hook[2] Ferry, went over and dined at Burns's Tavern[3] in New

[1] At that time Crosswicks was an important settlement on the direct road from Burlington to New York. Twenty years earlier David Brainard, the missionary, labored there among the Indians.

[2] Now Jersey City.

[3] Burns's Tavern, or Burns's Coffee House, stood on the west side of Broadway just north of the present Trinity Building. It was formerly the DeLancey homestead. At various times it bore different names — including the Province Arms, New York Arms, York Arms, and City Arms. Several men had been its proprietors — Burns being one of them. Here in 1765 was signed the Non-Importation Agreement. During the Revolution, it was a favorite resort of military men, being near the fashionable promenade, or mall, in front of Trinity Church. In 1793, the building was taken down, and on its site was erected the City Hotel, which in turn long remained a famous hostelry.

New York & this we deemed an indifferent House; here we saw the Govr. Sir Henry Moore and other noted men. In the Afternoon we took Passage in a sloop, Richd. Scoonhoven, Skipper, for Albany; had fine weather and found it extremely agreeable Sailing with the country seats of the Citizens on the Right Hand, and the high Lands of Bergen[1] on the Left and the Narrows abaft. We sailed about 13 or 14 Miles & then came to Anchor for the Night; the great Rains just before we set out had caused the Water of the North River to tast almost fresh at this Place. The Bergen Shore is high and Rocky & the Eastern Side diversified with Hill and Gully.

6th. These Albany Sloops contain very convenient Cabins. We eat from a regular Table accommodated with Plates, Knives & Forks & enjoyed our Tea in the Afternoon. We had laid in some Provision at N. York & the Capt. some more, so that we lived very well. Our Commander is very jocose & good company. About 7 oCloc we passed Spite the Devil (why so called I know not),[2] or Harlem River, which divides the Manhattan Island from the Connecticut. The Entrance here appears to be narrow, bounded on each side with high Land; Kings Bridge said to be about a Mile from this Entrance but not in Sight. The Bergen Coast continues to be lined with lofty Rocks, thinly overspread with Cedars, Spruce & Shrubs.

Nearly opposite to Tappan we took aTurn on Shore to

[1] Now known as the Palisades.

[2] Now written Spuyten Duyvil. The origin of the term has been much discussed. In a deed to Van Der Donck in 1646 the Indian name is given as Papirinimen—"called by our people," adds the deed, "Spytden Duyvel, in spite of the Devil."

NEW YORK CITY IN 1768

LOOKING SOUTHEAST FROM A POINT ON MANHATTAN ISLAND NEAR THE HUDSON RIVER, AND SHOWING, IN THE CENTER, KING'S COLLEGE AND TRINITY CHURCH SPIRE, AND IN THE DISTANCE ON THE RIGHT, STATEN ISLAND

From a sketch, "drawn on the spot by Captain Thomas Howdell of the Royal Artillery," and engraved by P. Canot

to a Part of Col. Philips's Manor,[1] from the Hills of which are beautiful Prospects. All the Country on both sides of the River from the City is hilly. The Manor of Philipsburg according to our Information, extends about —— Miles on the River and about 6 Miles back and is joined above by the Manor of Cortland.[2] This Morng. the Sloop passed by Col. Philips's Mansion House and Gardens situate in a pleasant Valley between Highlands. The country hereabout excels ours by far in fine prospects and the Trees & Vegetables appear to be as forward almost as those at Burlington when we left it; but I conceive that our countrymen excel the People here in cultivation. Hardly any Houses appear on the Bergen Side from Paulus Hook to the Line of Orange County.

The Tenant for Life here tells me he pays to Col. Philips only £7, per Annum for about 200 acres of Land & thinks it an extravagant Rent because, on his demise or Sale, his Son or Vendee is obliged to pay to the Landlord one Third of the Value of the Farm for a Renewal of the Lease. The Skipper gave here 5 coppers for a Quart of Milk & Mr. Wells bought Ten

[1] The Philipse Manor lands comprised "all the hunting grounds" between Spuyten Duyvil and the Croton River. In 1693 parts of them were erected into a Manor which included the present town of Yonkers. In 1682 was built the Manor House which still stands in Yonkers and is now the City Hall. Mr. Philipse's possessions included Fredericksborough, since better known as Sleepy Hollow, above Tarrytown, which with other lands comprised 240 square miles. Here in 1683 he built Castle Philipse, a stone structure, and also built the church which still stands there, the oldest religious edifice in New York state.

[2] The first of the Van Cortlandts was Oliver. It was his son, Stephanus, who in 1697 had his landed estates erected into a manor. The manor house he built is still standing in Croton Bay. It was intended to serve as a fort as well as a home, the walls being three feet thick and pierced with holes for use in defense.

Ten small Rock Fish for 12 coppers. The Freight of a Bushel of Wheat from Albany to N York according to our Skipper is Four Pence, of a Barrel of Flour one shilling and of a Hogshead of Flour 7/6 and he thinks they have the same Rates from Kaatskill. In the Night we ran ground among the Highlands about 50 Miles from N. York between Orange and Duchess Counties. The Highlands here are not so lofty as I expected and the River at this place appears to be about Half a Mile wide.

7th. Our Company went on Shore up the Rocks to a miserable Farm and House in Orange & left with the Farmer a Direction for Otego[1] as he and a few of his Neighbors seemed desirous to seek new Habitations. He pays Seven Pounds a Year Rent for about 100 acres including Rocks and Mountains. Hudson's River is straight to the Highlands, but thro them very crooked, many Strawberries are to be seen about the Banks and stony Fields. Martiler's Rock[2] stands in a part of the River which is exceeding deep with a bold Shore encircled on either Hand by aspiring Mountains & thro them there is a View of a fine Country above. Here it is chiefly that the sudden Flaws sometimes take the River Vessels for which Reason they have upright Masts for the more expeditious lowering of the Sails on any sudden Occasion. Beyond the above Rock lies Pollaple's Island.[3]

But

[1] The name of a creek of the river Susquehanna whereon, and in the vicinity, we afterwards formed a settlement.—R. S.

Otego Creek flows into the Susquehanna from the north a few miles west of Oneonta, and about 25 miles below Cooperstown.

[2] This rock no longer exists there.

[3] Now written Polopel's Island. According to local tradition, it was called originally Polly Pell's Island.

THE PHILIPSE MANOR HOUSE

STILL STANDING AND FOR MANY YEARS IN USE AS THE CITY HALL OF YONKERS

From a steel engraving of about 1850

But a few Wheat and Rye Fields appear along the East Side of the River from N York hither and a very few Fields are ploughed as if intended for Indian Corn. The Lands seem proper for Sheep or perhaps (if the Severity of our Winters will admit) for Vineyards. On the West Side among the Highlands are only a few Houses seated in the small Vallies between the Mountains. From the Streights between Butter Hill[1] and Broken Neck Hill[2] & below them there is a distant Prospect of the Kaatskill Mount[s], to the N. W. Murderers Creek[3] which runs by the Butter Hill, divides the Counties of Orange and Ulster, there are a few Houses at the Mouth of the Creek. The soil in these Parts is broken, stony and few places proper for the Plow. What grain we saw growing was but indifferent.

About one oCloc we passed by the Town of New Windsor on the Left, seeming at a Distance to consist of about 50 Houses Stores and Out houses placed without any regular Order. Here end the Highlands. This Town has some Trade and probably hereafter may be a place of Consequence as the fine Country of Goshen is said to lie back about 12 or more Miles. On the East Side of the River a little above Windsor is the Fish Kill & Landing whence the Sloops carry the Produce of that Side for Market. The North River is here thought to be near Two Miles

[1] From the context Butter Hill appears to be Storm King.

[2] Now Break Neck Mountain.

[3] By this is meant the stream known on the maps as Moodna Creek, which enters the Hudson at Cornwall. Murderer's Creek, however, still survives as a colloquial term for it. Below Albany, near Castleton, flowing in from the east, there is another stream called Murderer's Creek.

Miles wide and the general range of the Highlands by the Compass as taken on the N. Side by our Surveyors is W. S. W. & E. N. E.

We took a Turn on Shore at Denton's Mill[1] called 60 Miles from N. York and walked above Two Miles down the River to Newbury a small scattered Village & to Denton's Ferry. We found excellent Cyder at both. The New England men cross here & hereabouts almost daily for Susquehannah; their Rout is from hence to the Minisink's accounted only 40 Miles distant, & we are told that 700 of their Men are to be in that Country by the First of June next. A sensible Woman informed Us that Two Men of her Neighborhood have been several Times across to those Parts of Susquehannah which lie in York Government & here the people say our Rout by the Albany is above 100 Miles out of the Way. This is since found to be true, yet that Rout is used because it is the only Waggon Road to Lake Otsego.

The Lands near Hudsons River now appear less Hilly tho not level & a few Settlements are visible here and there; the Houses & Improvements not extraordinary. Denton's Mill above mentioned has a remarkable large Fall of Water forming a beautiful Cascade. We saw several other Cascades and Rills; divers Limekills and much Lime Stone on each Shore hereaway & some Appearance of Meadow Land of which we have hitherto seen very little. Lime Stone, it is said, may be found on either Side of the River from the Highlands to Sopus.[2] We have the pleasure

[1] This point is now Marlborough.

[2] Esopus is a Delaware word meaning river. Other forms are Seepers and Sopers.

pleasure of seeing sundry Sloops & Shallops passing back and forwards with the Produce of the Country and Returns. In the Evening we sailed thro' a remarkable Undulation of the Water for a Mile or Two which tossed the Sloop about much and made several passengers sick, the more observable as the Passage before and after was quite smooth & little Wind stirring at the Time. We anchored between Two high Shores bespread with Spruce, Chestnut Oaks and other Trees, very like the towering Banks of Bergen.

8th. There is a high Road from New York to Albany on both sides of the River, but that on the East side is most frequented; both Roads have a View now and then of the River. Poughkeepsing the County Town of Duchess stands above the Fishkill a little beyond the rough Water already noted. We passed the Town in the Night. Slate Stone Rocks are on the West Shore at and below Little Sopus from whence N York has of late been supplied. They reckon Little Sopus Island to be Half Way between N York and Albany. The Weather yesterday and to day very warm but the Mornings and Evenings are cool. Our Skipper says there are at Albany 31 Sloops all larger than this, which carry from 400 to 500 Barrels of Flour each, trading constantly from thence to York & that they make Eleven or 12 Trips a year each. The general Course of Hudson's River as taken by compass is N & by E. and S. & by W. in some Places North and South. Between the Highlands and Kaatskill both these Mountains are in view at the same time.

At Two ocloc we arrived off the Walkill, there are

2 or 3 Houses at the Mouth of the Creek & a Trade carried on in Six or Seven Sloops. Kingston[1] the County Town of Ulster stands about Two Miles distant but not visible from the Water. The Kaatskill Mountains to the N. W. appear to be very near tho they are at a considerable Distance. The Country on both Sides continues still hilly and rugged and what Wheat is growing, looks much thrown out and gullied—more Houses & Improvements shew themselves along the Sopus Shore and Opposite being an old settled Country.

Our Vessel came to Anchor a little above the Walkill about 60 Miles from Albany. We went on shore to Two stone Farm Houses on Beekman Manor[2] in the County of Duchess. The Men were absent & the Women and children could speak no other Language than Low Dutch. Our Skipper was Interpreter. One of these Tenants for Life or a very long Term or for Lives (uncertain which) pays 20 Bushels of Wheat in Kind for 97 Acres of cleared Land & Liberty to get Wood for necessary uses any where in the Manor. Twelve eggs sold here for six pence, Butter 14^{d}. per pound and 2 shad cost 6^{d}. One woman was very neat & the Iron Hoops of her Pails scowered bright. The Houses are mean; we saw one Piece of Good Meadow which is scarce here away. The Wheat was very much thrown out, the Aspect of the Farms rough and hilly like all the rest

[1] This town has since been burned by the British General Vaughan.—R. S.
The burning of Kingston occurred on Oct. 16, 1777. Vaughan was accompanying Gen. Clinton northward to reinforce Burgoyne, but arrived too late. Burgoyne capitulated the day after Kingston was burned.

[2] So called, although the Beekmans were not properly Patroons.

rest and the soil a stiff clay. One Woman had Twelve good countenanced Boys and Girls all clad in Homespun both Linen and Woolen. Here was a Two wheeled Plow drawn by 3 horses abreast, & a Scythe with a Short crooked Handle and a Kind of Hook both used to cut down Grain for the Sickle is not much known in Albany County or in this Part of Duchess.

9th We arose in the Morng opposite to a large Brick House on the East Side belonging to Mr Livingston's Father, Robt R. Livingston the Judge,[1] in the Lower Manor of Livingston. Albany County is now on either Hand, & sloping Hills here and there covered with Grain like all the rest we have seen, much thrown out by the Frost of last Winter.

Landing on the West Shore we found a Number of People fishing with a Sein; they caught plenty of Shad and Herring and use Canoes altogether having long, neat and strong Ropes made by the People themselves of Elm Bark. Here we saw the first Indian a Mohicon[2] named Hans clad in no other Garment than a shattered Blanket; he lives near the Kaatskill & had a Scunk Skin for his Tobacco Pouch

[1] Robert R. Livingston, the judge, who had been an energetic member of the Stamp Act Congress, was described by Sir Henry Moore, the Governor of New York, as "A man of great ability and many accomplishments, and the greatest landholder, without any exception, in New York." By "greatest" Sir Henry may have meant the richest: in actual acres Sir William Johnson is understood to have been the largest. Livingston's daughter married General Richard Montgomery, who fell at Quebec, and lies buried in St. Paul's Churchyard at Broadway and Vesey Street, New York City. His son, also Robert R. Livingston, was the Chancellor who administered the oath of office in Federal Hall, Wall Street, to George Washington at his inauguration as the first president of the United States.

[2] The Mohicans occupied the eastern shore of the Hudson.

Pouch. The Tavern of this Place is most wretched. Trees are out in Leaf. Cattle and Sheep, nothing different from ours, are now feeding on the Grass which seems to be nearly as forward as with us when we left Burlington, the Trees quite as forward & the White Pine is common. One Shad taken with the rest had a Lamprey Eel about 7 Inches long fastened to his Back.

I was informed here by a person concerned in measuring it that the Distance from Kaatskill Landing to Schoharie is 32½ Miles reckoned to Capt Eckerson's House, a good Waggon Road and Produce brot down daily; from thence to Cherry Valley half a Day's Journey; that People are now laying out a New Road from Sopus Kill to Schoharie which is supposed to be about 32½ Miles. Sopus Creek is about 11 Miles below Kaatskill Creek and a Mile below where we now landed. They say that 7 or 8 Sloops belong to Sopus. The Fish are the same in Hudsons River above the Salt Water as in the Delaware. The Skipper bought a Parcel of Fish here cheap. These Fishermen draw their Nets oftner than ours not stopping between the Draughts.

At 3 o'Cloc we passed by the German Camp[1] a small Village so called having Two Churches, situated on the East side of the River, upon a rising Ground which shews the Place to Advantage. Some distance further on the same Side of the River we sailed by the Upper Manor House of Livingston. A Quantity of low cripple Land may be seen on the opposite Side

[1] A survival of the unsuccessful settlements made on Livingston Manor by the Palatine Germans in 1710.

Side & this reaches 4 miles to the Kaatskill called 36 miles from Albany. Off the Mouth of this Creek we have a View of the large House built by John Dyer the Person who made the Road from hence to Schoharie at the expence of £400, if common Report may be credited.

Two Sloops belong to Kaatskill, a little beyond the Mouth whereof lies the large Island of Vastric.[1] There is a House on the North Side of the Creek and another with several Saw Mills on the South Side but no Town as we expected. Sloops go no further than Dyer House about Half a Mile up the Creek. The Lands on both Sides of Kaatskill belong to Vanberger, Van Vecthé, Salisbury, Dubois & a Man in York. Their Lands, as our Skipper says, extend up the Creek 12 Miles to Barker the English Gentleman his Settlement. The Creek runs thro the Kaatskill Mountⁿ said hereabouts to be at the Distance of 12 or 14 Miles from the North River but there are Falls above which obstruct the Navigation.

We landed in the Evening on the Kaatskill Shore 4 Miles above the Creek but could gain no satisfactory Intelligence only that the [Dowager] Dutchess of Gordon and her Husband Col. Staats Long Morris[2] were

[1] This island was afterwards called Rogers Island.

[2] Staats Long Morris belonged to the family of that name of Morrisania, and was a brother of Lewis Morris, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence. He was an officer in the British army, who had served in India, where he was present at the siege of Pondicherry. Having adhered to the royal cause in the Revolution, he lost title to his patent on the Susquehanna; but these lands were granted to his brothers Lewis and Richard after the war, as compensation for losses due to depredations committed by the British at Morrisania.

were just gone from Dyer's House for Cherry Valley and Susquehh with Two Waggons; they went by the Way of Freehold at the Foot of the Mountains on this Side and so over them to Schoharie guessed to be about 32½ Miles as was said before.

10th. We passed by Sunday Islands whereof Scutters Island affords a good low Bottom fit for Meadow and some of it improved. Bear's Island is said to be the Beginning of the Manor of Renslaerwic which extends on both Sides of the River. The Lords of Manors are called by the common People Patroons. Bearen Island or Bears Island just mentioned is reputed to be 12 Miles below Albany. Cojemans[1] Houses with Two Grist Mills & Two Saw Mills stand a little above on the West Side and opposite is an Island of about Two Acres covered with young Button wood Trees which Island, our Skipper says, has arisen there to his Knowledge within 16 years and since he has navigated the River.

More low, bottom Land is discovered as we pass up, generally covered with Trees; being cleared might be made good Meadow by Banking an Improvement to which the Inhabitants are altogether Strangers. The upper End of Scotoc's Island[2] is a fine cleared Bottom not in Grass but partly in Wheat & partly in Tilth. However there was one rich Meadow improved. We saw the first Batteaux[3] a few Miles below Albany, Canoes being the Common Craft. One

[1] Now written Coeymans.

[2] Now Schodack, but originally Shotag, an Indian word, meaning the fire place, or the place where the councils are held. This island by the action of the water has since been divided into two, which are known as Upper and Lower Schodack Islands.

[3] "Battoes," as New York frontiersmen, through corruption, usually

One Staat's House is prettily fixed on a rising Ground in a low Island, the City of Albany being 3 miles aHead. We discovered for the First Time a Spot of Meadow Ground, ploughed and sowed with Peas in the Broad Cast Way; the Uplands are now covered with Pitch Pine & are sandy and barren as the Desarts of N. Jersey.

As we approach the Town the Houses multiply on each Shore and we observe a person in the Act of sowing Peas upon a fruitful Meadow of an Island to the right. The Hudson near Albany seems to be about Half a Mile over. Henry Cuyler's Brick House on the East Side about a mile below the Town looks well & we descry the King's stables a long wooden Building on the left & on the same side Philip Schuyler's Grand House with whom at present resides Col. Bradstreet.[1] Col. John Van Renslaer has a good House on the East Side.

At

wrote this word, were boats originally brought into use by the French, as substitutes for the bark canoe in the fur trade, canoes being not strong enough to carry heavy loads. They were usually built of white pine boards, the bottoms flat, and both ends sharp and higher than the centre. In length they varied from 20 to 25 feet. The width in the centre was three and one half feet, and the depth about two feet.

[1] Since deceased, and Schuyler is now a Major General in the service of the United States.—R. S.

Philip Schuyler, when only 23 years old, had served with Bradstreet at Oswego, and in 1758 had become Bradstreet's deputy commissary. In 1761 he went to England as Bradstreet's agent in settling his accounts with the home government. A few years later he became an acknowledged leader of the patriot party in New York, during the controversies that preceded the Revolution.

Major General John Bradstreet, whose rank had been won in the French War, had title to an extensive tract of land, some 300,000 acres, on the Susquehanna River near the mouth of the Unadilla, which, after his death, became a subject of litigation, unprofitable alike to his heirs and to the settlers, many of whom were ruined by the expenses involved in the contest.

At Half after 10 oCloc we arrived at Albany[1] estimated to be 164 Miles by Water from N. York and by Land 157. In the Afternoon we viewed the Town which contains according to several Gentlemen residing here, about 500 Dwelling Houses besides Stores and Out Houses. The Streets are irregular and badly laid out, some paved others not, Two or Three are broad the rest narrow & not straight. Most of the Buildings are pyramidically shaped like the old Dutch Houses in N York. We found Cartwright's a good Tavern tho his charges were exorbitant & it is justly remarked by Kalm[2] the Swedish Traveller in America that the Townsmen of Albany in general sustained the character of being close, mercenary and avaricious. They deem it 60 miles from Albany to Cherry Valley.

We did not note any extraordinary Edifices in the Town nor is there a single Building facing Albany on the other Side of the River. The Fort is in a ruinous neglected Condition and nothing now to be seen of Fort Orange built by the Dutch but

[1] While Albany is one of the earliest permanent English settlements made in the United States, the French are believed to have had a trading post near there much earlier still—that is, in 1540, but this was soon abandoned.

[2] Peter Kalm visited America in 1748–1751. Writing of the fur trade at Albany, he said: "Many persons have assured me that the Indians are frequently cheated in disposing of their goods, especially when they are in liquor, and that sometimes they do not get one-half, or one-tenth, of the value of their goods. I have been witness to several transactions of this kind." He adds that "the avarice and selfishness of the inhabitants of Albany" are well known. Kalm had in mind particularly the fur traders. These men, as a class, not only in Albany but elsewhere, at that time, bore evil reputations. Parkman says many of them were "ruffians of the coarsest stamp, who strove with each other in rapacity, violence, and profligacy. They cheated, cursed and plundered the Indians, and outraged their families."

MAPS OF ALBANY AND NEW YORK CITY

(1) Albany as surveyed by Robert Yates about 1770. From a reproduction of the original in Volume III of the "Documentary History of the State of New York."

(2) Bernard Ratzen's map of New York, drawn in 1767. Reproduced from a copy in the Lenox Library.

but part of the Fossé or Ditch which surrounded it. The Barracks are built of Wood and of ordinary Workmanship; the same may be said of the King's Store Houses. The Court House is large and the Jail under it. One miserable Woman is now in it for cutting the Throat of her Child about 5 years old. There are 4 Houses of Worship for different Denominations and a Public Library which we did not visit. Most of the Houses are built of Brick or faced with Brick. The Inhabitants generally speak both Dutch and English & some do not understand the latter. The Shore and the Wharves 3 in Number abounded in Lumber. Stephen Van Renslaer the Patron or Lord of the Manor of Renslaerwick[1] his House stands a little above the Town; he is a young man.

The Site of the Town is hilly and the soil clay but round the place it is mere Sand bearing pine Trees chiefly of the Pitch Pine. Some Lime or Linden Trees as well as other Trees are planted before the Doors as at N York and indeed Albany has in other Respects much the Aspect of that City. The Houses are for the most Part covered with Shingles made of White Pine, some few with red

[1] This manor was founded by Killian Van Rensselaer, a wealthy pearl and diamond merchant of Amsterdam, Holland. At first his possessions embraced land on the west side of the Hudson River, from a point 12 miles south of Albany to Smack's Island, "stretching two days into the interior." Later he concluded the purchase of land on the east side, both north and south of Fort Orange, and reaching "far into the wilderness." This vast estate included the entire territory now embraced by Albany, Columbia, and Rensselaer Counties, and was known as Rensselaerwick. It was Stephen Van Rensselaer, the seventh patroon, who in 1765, took down the old manor house, and built a splendid new one, which survived until recent years. A Killian Van Rensselaer of this family died in New York City in November, 1905.

red or black Tiles. In one of the Streets there is a Sign of the Jersey Shoe Ware House being supplied in Part with Shoes by Henry Guest of N. Brunswick; there is a Town Cloc which strikes regularly. We saw some Indians here & found the Weather very warm and sultry.

II

THE MOHAWK: BY WAGON ROAD FROM COHOES TO CANAJOHARIE, 52 MILES, MAY 11-MAY 13

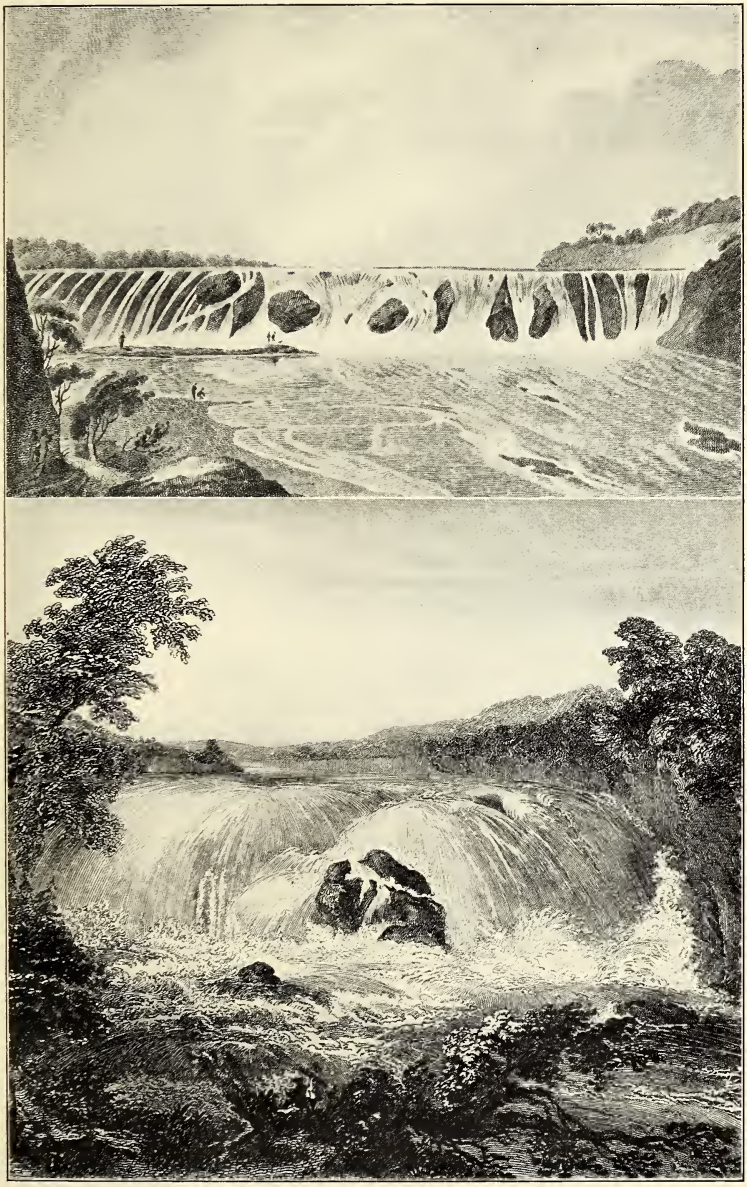
11th. Having hired an open Waggon the Company quitted Albany early in the Morng. intending for Schenectady by way of Cahoe's Falls; the Fare of the Waggon with two Horses was 20f. It is called 7 miles from the City to the Mouth of the Mohawk's River & from thence to the Cahoes 5 miles,[1] from the Cahoes to Schenectady 16 Miles. From Albany to Schenectady in a Direct Line along the usual Road is 17 Miles. The Patroons House at the North End of Albany is a large handsome Mansion with a good Garden & Wheat Field that reaches down to the North River. The Road leads along the Bank for about 6 or 7 miles from Albany and the rich Bottom on each side of the River is near Half a Mile broad consisting of a blac Mould very level & low, proper for the best Sort of Meadow, but here sown with Wheat and Peas both which look well. Some of the Peas are up and some are now sowing. Very little Indian corn is raised in

[1] The Mohawk has three mouths. Mr. Smith seems to have been giving the distance from the southern mouth, but even that is less than five miles below Cohoes. Cohoes is an Indian word meaning a shipwrecked canoe, and refers to an occurrence, in which the owners of a canoe had a remarkable escape from death.

in these Parts & that not planted in Furrows & Rows but at random, one Field excepted. They plant three or 4 Feet apart in the Hills & the same Ground every year. The Land back of this fertile Space is covered with the Pitch and White Pine chiefly and yet not bad Land, and along the Mohawks River also this rich flat Ground extends from a Quarter to Half a Mile wide, but somewhat narrower on the upper parts of that River.

This Stream at the Cahoes is reckoned to be about a Quarter of a Mile in Breadth & the Falls extend quite across. The Heighth of the Fall is conjectured by Mr Wells & the Two Surveyors to be 60 Feet or upwards but I have seen a Copper plate that calls it 75, tho' upon ocular View it appears less. The Fall is almost perpendicular, the whole Body of the River brawling over a Slate Rock. The Banks of the River consist of this Rock intermixed with a crumbling stone and are perhaps 30 feet higher than the Bed of the River. The whole looks as white as cream except in the middle where the black Rock projects a little and the water breaks into many small Rills. We descended down to the Shore by a dangerous passage and ascended by the same after examining every Thing below particularly some heavy Stones and other Indications of a Copper Mine being not far off.

Upon quitting this spot we directed our Course for Schenectady and passed some excellent Farms and likewise some poor barren Pine Land; yet we saw choice Ground bearing the Jersey or Pitch Pine a Thing to me heretofore unknown. The Course from the Cahoes to Schenectady was nearly



TWO VIEWS OF COHOES FALLS

(1) From a drawing by Isaac Weld, the traveler and author, published in London in 1798.
(2) From a sketch by Governor Thomas Pownall, made some time before 1760,
and engraved by William Elliot.

West. About six Miles below that Town we are told that the rich Bottoms sell at £35 or £40 p Acre while the Upland will only fetch £3 or thereabouts. They hardly ever plow their Upland. The Indian Corn in the rich Lands is said to produce from 40 to 60 Bushels an Acre altho every Year planted in the same Earth. By the Information rec[d]. Stephen Van Renslaers Manor extends on each Side of the North River 12 Miles below Albany and 12 above by 48 Miles acroſs East & West. Along the Road the Trees are out in full Leaf and the Grass in the Vales several Inches high. Clover and Timothy are common to the Country. They use wheeled Plows mostly with 3 horses abreast & plow and harrow sometimes on a full Trot, a Boy sitting on one Horse. The Timber in these Parts besides the Two sorts of Pine consists of Blac & White, Oak, White and brown Aspen large and small, Bilberry, Maple red Oak Hazel Bushes, Ash and Gum together with Butternut and Shellbark, Hiccory in plenty, Elm and others. The Woods abound in Strawberries, and we find the Apple Trees, Bilberries, Cherries and some others in Bloſsom as are the wild Plums which are very common here. We were informed by D[r] Stringer at Albany that the Owners of Hardenberghs or the great Patent[1] sell their Lands in Fee at 7/6 per Acre.

12[th].

[1] Issued to Johanus Hardenburg and others in 1708, with an additional tract in 1751. This princely estate comprised altogether something under 2,000,000 acres and to it, in 1844, spread what was known as the anti-rent war, which, in a milder form, had broken out sometime earlier on the manors of the Hudson Valley. Men disguised in sheep skins, wearing horns and tails, and calling themselves Indians, committed many acts of violence in

12th Lodged last Night at Clench's in Schenectady a very good Inn and the Landlord intelligent and obliging. The Town according to our Conjecture counts about 300 Dwelling Houses besides Out Houses, standing in 3 Principal Streets nearly East and West ; these are crossed by 4 or 5 other Streets. Few of the Buildings are contiguous, some of them are constructed in the old Dutch Taste generally of Wood but sometimes of Brick and there may be 6 or 7 elegant Mansions without including a large Dutch Church with a Town Cloc, a Presbyterian Meeting House and a neat English Church now finishing off, containing a particular Pew for Sir Wm Johnson[1] adorned with a handsome Canopy supported by Pilasters. There are no Wharves but a public Landing or Two at the Ends of the Streets where the Batteaux bring the Peltry and wheat from above. These Batteaux which are built here are very large, each end sharp so that they may be rowed either way.

The Townspeople are supplyed altogether with Beef and Pork from New England most of the Meadows being used for Wheat, Peas and other Grain ; however there are certain choice Grass Meadows

Delaware County, such as tarring and feathering, seizing and burning sheriff's papers, and finally caused the death of the sheriff, O. W. Steele. Companies of militia were then sent into the country, and Delaware County was declared to be in a state of insurrection, which after a time was suppressed. Besides the greater part of Delaware this patent comprised a large part of Sullivan and Ulster Counties.

[1] Sir William Johnson, the most notable figure in the Colonial history of New York, had for his second wife Molly Brant, a sister of Joseph Brant, with whom he lived in a state of felicity, she being commonly known as "The Indian Lady Johnson." In his will he described her as his "housekeeper."

Meadows about the Place and yet at the End we entered, the Sandy Pine Land approaches within 300 Yards of the Buildings. The Mohawks River here is hardly wider than Half a Quarter of a Mile, the Course W. S. W. and E. N. E. by compass. Fresh Beef sells at 5^{d}. and 6^{d}. p pound. We thought the Carriers here very apt to impose on Strangers ; it was with some Difficulty we engaged an open Waggon with Two Horses for Cherry Valley for Forty Five Shillings; they told us the Distance was 50 Miles. The Inhabitants are chiefly Descendants of the low Dutch, a few Irish & not so many English. We did not observe any Orchards or Gardens worthy of Attention. M^{r}. Clench says the cold here is not at all severe and the Grass out earlier in the Spring than in Pennsylvania where he has lived. The North River was open several Times at Albany during the last Winter ; Sloops and Oyster Boats came up both in January & February. Numbers of people from N England and elsewhere have travelled this Way during the last Winter & this Spring looking out for settlements ; there is yet remaining in Schenectady a small wooden Fortreſs having 4 Towers at the corners.[1]

In the early part of this Day we croſsed the River at a Ferry kept in Town from whence to Col. Guy Johnsons[2] son in Law to Sir W^{m}. are 15 Miles; thence

[1] This fort had been erected during the first French War. From its earliest settlement Schenectady had been protected, either by a stockade or a fort. The word is Indian, and means beyond the opening, or beyond the pineries.

[2] Col. Guy Johnson was Sir William's successor as Superintendent of Indian affairs. Remaining loyal to the crown, he retired to Canada, and became active in the war, his lands being confiscated afterward.

thence nearly a Mile to Col. Claus[1] who also married a Daughter of the Baronet, & from him to Sir John Johnson[2] a Mile ; thence to the Spot which lies opposite to Fort Hunter[3] 3 miles. Fort Hunter[4] stands Half a Mile up Schoharie Creek whose Waters here mix with the Mohawks stream, & at or about the Fort live a small Party of Mohawk Indians[5] who subsist by Agriculture. From Fort Hunter to Major Funda's[6] are 4 Miles and thence to Mr. Kincaid where we lodged 5 miles, the Road generally lying on the Eastern Banks of the River in those fertile Wheat Meadows so much celebrated. Sir Wm. Johnson resides at Johns Town the Capital of the extensive County of Tryon,[7] which Town lies 7 or 8

[1] Col. Daniel Claus, when the war began, followed the Johnsons to Canada, and was active on the frontier, his relations to Joseph Brant being particularly close.

[2] Sir John Johnson, the heir to Sir William's title, and to a large part of his estate, during the Border Wars was personally the most active of all the influential loyalists of the frontier. His Royal Greens were at the massacre of Wyoming, and he led two expeditions into the Mohawk Valley, effecting great destruction. The last is believed to have been connected with Arnold's treason. "Both shores of the Mohawk," says Stone, "were lighted up by the conflagration of everything combustible." Sir John's vast landed property was confiscated after the war.

[3] Tribes Hill.

[4] Fort Hunter was the Lower Castle of the Mohawks.

[5] Quere: Whether they have not since been routed by order of General Sullivan ? —R. S.

The Sullivan expedition of 1779 encountered no hostile Indians in the Mohawk Valley ; nor had there been any resident there since 1776, when practically all the Mohawks followed Col. Guy and Sir John Johnson to Canada.

[6] Here now stands the town that bears Major Fonda's name.

[7] Tryon County, formed in 1772 from Albany County, and taking its name from Governor Tryon, but later called Montgomery, after the General, originally comprised the territory now embraced in the Counties of Otsego, Madison, Herkimer, Fulton, Hamilton, St. Lawrence, Oswego and Jefferson, with parts of Delaware, Oneida and Schoharie.

7 or 8 miles back from the River. The Breadth of the Flats on each Side of the River from Schenectady to M^r Kincaid's may be from 100 to 300 yards, the Road very level and good; the Upland in general is no other than Pine Barrens both Stony and Hilly.

Guy Johnson's House is of Stone 2 stories high, neat and handsome; the Garden behind runs down to the River and is accommodated with a pretty Pavilion erected over the Water.[1] Daniel Claus's House is of stone and one story high. Sir John's is also of stone and contains Two Stories, all Three situate at the Foot of Hills very steep, barren and rocky having narrow Strips of Bottom Ground. Sir John has most Meadow and their Farms are much inferior to those of many common People hereabouts. The Country seems to be well settled & we are told that wild Pidgeons breed everywhere. Sir John possesses an elegant Seat and Gardens called Fort Johnson[2] tho there is now no other Fortress than a wooden Block House and a Powder Magazine. From Sir Johns to his father Sir W^ms they count 9 Miles.

Fort

[1] This House was afterwards, in the absence of the Family, destroyed by a Flash of Lightning, and all the elegant Furniture consumed, and among the rest, a curious Map drawn by the Colonel, and which we had viewed with Pleasure, describing the Bounds and Situation of the various Patents for Lands granted previous to the late Treaty of Fort Stanwix in this Quarter of the Government, with their several dates; but another House, similar to the former was finished, and it has been much defaced since that Gentleman joined the British Interest against his own Country.—R. S.

Col. Johnson also made a "Map of the Country of the VI Nations Proper, with Parts of the Adjacent Colonies." It was engraved and printed in 1771, dedicated to the Governor, William Tryon. It may be found in volume IV of the "Documentary History of New York."

[2] Still standing between Akin and Tribes Hill, where it may be seen from a New York Central Railroad train.

Fort Hunter, as they say for we did not go over, is constructed of Wood having 4 Bastions and is like the small Fort at Schenectady. We saw some of the young Indian Women who reside there & several other Parties of Indians some of them painted very hideously and preposterously in red and blac,—The River a little above Fort Johnson breaks into a Number of Channels forming so many Islands. The Timber seen to day was much the same as yesterday with the Addition of wild Rasberries currants and gooseberries. We observed a Saw Mill on the Road with 14 Saws, a Thing usual in this Part of the Country, but very uncommon if not altogether unknown in Jersey and Pennsylvania.

At Kincaid's we first met with the Maple Sugar of which our Hostess manufactures 300 or 400 Weight per Annum. She describes the process as extremely simple. In Feb. March or the Beginning of April as the Season admits they draw the Liquor from the Tree (the Acer Saccharinum Foliis quinquepartito-palmatis accuminato dentatis of Linnæus's Species Plantarum pag. 1055) by striking an Ax into it or boring it and placing proper vessels thereunder to receive the Juice as it distils. This they boil for several Hours taking care to stir it while it cools & so pour it into any Kettle or pot previously rubbed with Hogs Lard and then the Sugar is taken out in cakes like Beeswax which when used they cut down with a Knife. This Kind has the Aspect of coarse brown Muscavado but tastes more like coarse loaf sugar. Mr^{s} Kincaid says She sells it in Common 9^{d}. p. pound and she has exchanged 2 pounds of this for 3 Pounds of West India Sugar,

FORT JOHNSON IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

BUILT BY SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON IN 1742, AND STILL STANDING BETWEEN AMSTERDAM AND FONDA

From an old French print

the People esteeming the former best. They tap 200 Trees for 400 Weight, the same Juice is converted into Molasses and sometimes into Vinegar. For this last the Liquor is half boiled and worked with Yeast. They use our common Maple also but prefer the Sugar Maple. After a Tree has been tapt several years the Liquor is thought to grow stronger. About 3 Gallons are sufficient for a Pound of Sugar and this Quantity will ooze from a Tree in a days Time. The Mohawks River is but shallow tho' very rapid and the Navigation obstructed by Rifts and the Inhabitants of its Banks are said to be subject to Fevers and Agues. The Measures introduced originally by the Dutch are still in vogue. A Morgan of Land contains somewhat more than Two Acres and a Skipple is about 3 Pecks. Col. Claus is clearing the Hill before the Door with an Intention to plant a Vineyard. A neighbor of Kincaids, as we hear, lately sold 360 acres of Land whereof 30 were all Meadow, for the Sum of £900. The People of the German Flats bring their Loads of Wheat in Sleighs down to Schenectady, the Distance being 60 Miles, and return in 3 Days. One Hassenclever it seems has formed a Settlem[t] above the German Flats.[1] I was informed that M[r] Clenchs Tavern in Schenectady rented for £100 a year previous to the Peace of 1763.

13th

[1] These places have been since destroyed during the present War.—R. S. German Flats was first settled about forty years before the date of this journal. In 1757, as already stated in the Introduction, it was burned, and its people were massacred. In 1778 it was again burned by Joseph Brant, who carried away all the horses, cattle and sheep, but the people, having retired to the fort on hearing of Brant's approach, escaped bodily harm.

13th May.—Kincaids is not a public Tavern but for our Money we were civilly and tolerably entertained. The Inns between [Canajoharrie] and Cherry Valley are few and wretched. We crossed the River from Kincaids to the South Side and passed along its shores for 8 Miles to Scramlins[1] which is nearly opposite to Col. Fry's; we found the road passable. Fry's House of one story high is built of Lime Stone or has that appearance, he has a Brew House & these look well from the high Hill fronting them.[2]

[1] At or near Canajoharie, "Col. Fry's" being Palatine Bridge. Canajoharrie was the Upper Castle of the Mohawks. The name came from a place in a creek where the water flows through a circular gorge and thus was called by the Indians Canajoharie, meaning the pot that washes itself. In 1677 an Indian village stood on the opposite side of the Mohawk and was stockaded.

[2] Fry was one of the Members of Assembly for Tryon County. He afterwards removed over the River to a handsome house oddly placed in a Hollow just under the Hill before mentioned, from the top of which I beheld it in 1773 and again in 1777, and the view brought to my mind the Idea of a House fixed in the Bottom of a Well.—R. S.

III

THE SUSQUEHANNA: BY WAGON ROAD FROM CANAJOHARIE TO OTSEGO LAKE; THENCE BY CANOE TO OLD OGHWAGA, 106 MILES; MAY 13-JUNE 5, 1769

13th May. At Scramlins we turned off from the River pursuing a S.W. Course for Cherry Valley and perceived the Soil to be blac & deep bearing very lofty White Pines, Butternut, Beech, Shell Bark Hickery and many other sorts of Timber including several Trees of the English Yew as affirmed by R. Wells & John Hicks who were both born in England. The roads were miry and heavy. We saw great plenty of Lime Stone & heard that a Hedge Tavern Keeper[1] living 5 Miles from Scramlins gave £190 for 200 acres where he resides. We met, on their Return Four Waggons which had carried some of Col. Croghans Goods to his Seat at the Foot of Lake Otsego. The Carriers tell us they were paid 30/. a Load each for carrying from Scramlins to Capt. Prevost's[2] who is now improving his Estate at the Head of the Lake; the Capt. married Croghan's Daughter.

In

[1] So reads the manuscript. Perhaps it should be "A. Hedge, tavern keeper."

[2] Augustine Prevost's military title had been acquired in the British Army. He had seen service in Jamaica. Near this point there grew up a settlement called Springfield, which was burned by Brant in 1778, the inhabitants being all driven out.

In the afternoon he arrived at Major Wells, one of the principal Freeholders of Cherry Valley called 12 Miles from the Scramlins & 50 from Schenectady. Near Cherry valley we chased an Animal till he climbed into the Top of a tall White Pine Tree where we shot him. He proved to be the only Porcupine I ever saw, & I brought some of his Quils to Burlington. There are Farms and new Settlements at a short Distance all the Way from the Mohawks River, the Ground in many places hilly & broken but strong and producing thick and tall Woods. In Cherry Valley[1] there are about 40 or 50 Families mostly of those called Scotch Irish and as many more in the vicinity consisting of Germans and others. There is a Pearl Ash Work and much Lime Stone in the Valley. Major Wells has a choice Farm with a large Quantity of even Meadow on each side of his House. He has lived here all the Two last Wars and entirely unmolested.[2]

We rec[d] Information at this Place that there is a Rout from Kaatskill across to Susquehannah in this Line

[1] Cherry Valley, so long the most important settlement on the Susquehanna, and the parent of several others, is now a small village. For many years after the Revolutionary War it was an important place on the Great Western Turnpike.

[2] The Major died not long afterwards. His worthy Widow, Children and Domestics to the number of nine, were put to death in November 1778, and their home burnt during the horrid Massacre and Destruction of C. Valley by the Indian Savages and British Monsters, headed by Butler and Brant.—R. S.

Robert Wells had a son named John who escaped. He was then at school in Schenectady. John Wells was afterwards an eminent lawyer in New York, and became associated with Alexander Hamilton. A beautiful monument to his memory was erected by his associates at the bar, inside of St. Paul's Church, at Broadway and Vesey Street, where it may still be seen.

Walter N. Butler was the chief offender in this massacre. He seems indeed to have planned it. Brant joined the expedition with some personal

Line, namely from Kaatskill to Akery 8 miles, to Batavia 12, to Red Kill 8, (on the Schoharie where it is crossed, there are said to be settled Places) from Red Kill to a Lake at the Head of the Mohawks or Main Branch of the River Delaware, 12 and to Otego about 16—in all 56 Miles.[1]

14th Being Sunday We attended Major Wells and his Family to the new Presbyterian Meeting House which is large and quite finished and heard a Sermon from the Rev. Mr. Delap an elderly courteous Man who has lived in this settlemt above 20 years.[2] The Congregation tho not large made a respectable Appearance, several of them being genteely dressed. From our Lodgings about the centre of the Valley down to the mouth of Cherry Valley Creek they reckon 12 or 14 Miles and in Freshes one may pass in a Canoe from the House to Maryland. Here are 3 Grist Mills and one Saw Mill and divers Carpenters and other Tradesmen. The Soil is a strong blac

reluctance, having many old friends among the inhabitants of Cherry Valley. During the massacre his influence was one of restraint. He afterwards said the white men were "more savage than the savages themselves." The chief barbarities due to the Indians were committed by the Senecas, under the leadership of Hiokatoo, whom Brant afterwards said he could not control.

[1] In April 1777 I rode over the Delaware just below this Lake, or Pond, which serves as a Reservoir for a Saw Mill, and the River is no other than a Brook, not a Foot deep, and two or three yards broad.—R. S.

This reference appears to be to Summit Lake, the head of the River Charlotte, not the Delaware. The Delaware takes its source from a spring at Stamford.

[2] His wife was murdered in the Massacre aforesaid.—R. S.

Rev. Samuel Dunlop is here referred to. Surviving the massacre, he removed from Cherry Valley during the war and died elsewhere. In the Presbyterian Church at Cherry Valley, in the summer of 1904, a tablet was set up to his memory. Bishop Potter, whose grandfather, Eliphalet Nott, had been pastor of the same church, made one of the addresses.

blac Mould with a large Proportion of Bottom Land. Their Patent is only for 9000 acres, the Farms rather small, Mr. Wells's Homestead being but 200 Acres. The Price of Land uncertain & according to the Quality and Improvements. Uncleared Woods possessing a due Proportion of low Ground sell at least for 10/. an Acre and cultivated Farms from 40/. to £5. an Acre. Major Wells says he turns his Horses and Cattle out to full Pasture about the First of May sooner or later as the Season may prove and begins to fodder about the Middle of November. Summer Wheat is grown as well as Winter Wheat and thought to produce as much.

From the Mouth of Cherry Valley Creek for 9 miles upwards on both Sides the Low Lands (and these only) are said to belong to Govr. Clarke's[1] Heirs and some of the Livingston's who include the place called Skeneves's.[2] Gov. Clarkes son Leased out Lands in C. Valley (being concerned in that Patent) on these terms viz: Ten Years for Nothing, for 7 Years afterwards 3d. Sterling an acre then ever after 6d. sterlg. an Acre—the Landlord to pay the Quit Rent to the Crown.

About 9 miles from the Mohawks River on the Road to Cherry Valley, as Report says, is a Brimstone Spring[3] at the Foot of the Hill where we shot the Porcupine. We

[1] George Clarke, Lieutenant Governor of the Province, had come to America in Queen Anne's time. He was related to the Hydes, who were Earls of Clarendon. Hyde Hall on Otsego Lake and the George Hyde Clarkes who own it, still preserve the name in those parts.

[2] Now a small village and railroad station, the name being written Schenevus.

[3] Known afterwards as Sharon Springs, long a fashionable watering-place, and still much visited by invalids.

We find ourselves well entertained at Mr. Wells's who keeps a Store where Powder may be had for 3/. and shot for 6d. p pound by the Dozen, Rum sells from 5/ to 6/ a Gallon, Ozenbrigs 18d. a yard and at divers Farms Cyder may be procured from the press at 12/. p Barrel. A large Quantity of Flaxseed is purchasable for 4/. a Bushel—The Cherry Valley Men make all their own Linen and some Woolen. A Fulling Mill is much wanted. There are Two Furnaces in the Pearl Ash Work. The Manager gives 7d. and 8d. a Bushel for Ashes and pays in Goods sold at a large Advance. He has one Hand to assist Him. A Pair of Mens shoes costs 9/. and for making only they ask 2/6. There is a Gun Smith and a Blacsmith who have 1/. a pound for Plough Shares Coulters &c. and 10d. a Pound for some other Work. The Distance from Cherry Valley to Capt. Prevosts on the Head of Susquehannah is 9 Miles.

15th. We are informed that the Flats on Schoharie[1] are pretty wide; the Improvements there from about 12 miles up the Creek may extend 20 Miles further up; they carry their Wheat & Peas to Albany 40 miles and back again in Two Days. Some of the Farmers are reported to be worth money. It is asserted and probably with Truth that fresh Settlers frequently do not till their Land for the First Crop but only rake the ground clean, then sow the Wheat, harrow it in or draw a Bush over it and reap good Crops.

Mr. Wells would accept no Recompence for our Entertainment

[1] Schoharie was already an old settlement, many of its lands having been taken up by Palatine Germans as early as 1714.

Entertainment, but hiring to us his Cart drawn by 2 Horses we set out for the Lake and passing by the Ministers House we noticed a Pair of Elks Horns killed in the Neighborhood 2 years ago, the Length of each Horn was 4 Feet and each Horn produced 6 points, the Distance between the Points of the Main Beam 3½ Feet. We arrived at Capt Prevosts in 4 Hours, the Road not well cleared but full of Stumps and rugged thro' a deep blac Mould all the Way producing very tall Beech, Sugar Maple, Linden, Birch and other Timber, the course guessed to be N. W.

Mr Prevost has built a Log House lined with rough Boards of one story on a Cove which forms the Head of Lake Otsego. He has cleared 16 or 18 acres round his House and erected a Saw Mill with one Saw, the Carpenters Bill of which came to £30; he began to settle only in May last.[1] Mr Young has a Saw Mill about 3 Miles off. The Capt treated us elegantly. The Soil around his House is a fruitful blac Loam on a stratum of Gravel. We have not seen a Blac Walnut or hardly a Chesnut Tree since we left N York. The Capt says that here are stones proper for grindstones, absolutely necessary to every Settler, & that he has caused one to be made and that two Mill stones have been from the same Material & he thinks there is a Saltpetre Spring[2] a few Miles distant. He has several Families seated near him and gives Wages from 55/. to £3 a Month. In

[1] This farm has been since greatly improved and was occupied by Nicholas Lowe from New York.—R. S.

[2] This reference may be to what is now Richfield Springs.

In this Part of our Journey we passed thro Springfield in Waggoners Patent, a German Settlement of 10 Families where one Myers from Philad[a]. keeps a Tavern and has established a Pottery; nor do they lack a Blacsmith who is a good Workman, there are 12 more Persons residing on Godfrey Millers or Martins Patent. It is supposed to be not more than 5 or 6 Miles on a direct Line from Major Wells's to Lake Otsego & 9 or 10 Miles from Cherry Valley to a Colony of Six Families at West Kills from whence to Cobus Kill are 8 miles: this contains 6 or 8 Families and from Cobus Kill to Schoharie they reckon 8 miles. Myers of Springfield gave £170 for 200 Acres about Two years ago. His House is about 5 Miles from Cap[t]. Prevosts. At Harpers Saw Mill[1] in the Lower part of Cherry Valley they now sell White Pine Boards at 45/ p Thousand Feet; the Creek could be easily cleared out and their saw mill is about 9 miles from the Mouth.

16[th]. Our Company was retarded yesterday for Want of Craft but this Morng. we proceeded in Col. Croghan's Batteau, large and sharp at each end down the Lake which is estimated to be 8 or 9 Miles long and from one to 2 miles broad, the Water of a greenish cast denoting probably a Lime stone Bottom; the Lake is skirted on either Side with Hills covered by White Pines and the Spruce called Hemloc

[1] The Harper family who came to Cherry Valley from Windsor, Conn., in 1754 and became the staunchest patriots in the Revolution, obtained in 1770 a patent to lands on the River Charlotte, where they founded the settlement of Harpersfield, which in the Revolution was destroyed by Joseph Brant.

Hemloc chiefly. We saw a Number of Ducks, some Loons, Sea Guls and Whitish coloured Swallows, the Water very clear so that we descried the gravelly Bottom in one Part 10 or 12 Feet down. The rest of the Lake seemed to be very deep; very little low Land is to be seen round the Lake.

Mr. Croghan[1] Deputy to Sir Wm. Johnson the Superintendent for Indian Affairs, is now here and has Carpenters and other Men at Work preparing to build Two Dwelling Houses and 5 or 6 Out Houses. His Situation commands a View of the whole Lake and is in that Respect superior to Prevosts. The site is a gravelly stiff Clay covered with towering white Pines just where the River Susquehannah, no more than 10 or 12 yards broad, runs downwards out of the Lake with a strong Current.[2] Here we

[1] Col. George Croghan, one of Sir William Johnson's deputy superintendents, acquired his tract on Otsego Lake, comprising 100,000 acres, as compensation for lands in Pennsylvania, which he lost under the terms of the Fort Stanwix Treaty. Near Cherry Valley he had another tract of 18,000 acres. Croghan mortgaged the Otsego tract to William Franklin, son of Benjamin Franklin, and lost it under foreclosure. The title eventually passed to William Cooper and Andrew Craig, both of Burlington, N. J., which will be recalled as the home of the author of this journal. Mr. Cooper decided to settle the tract, and in 1786 had induced several families to live on it. In 1790, he brought his own family to the lake, one member of which was an infant, destined to wide literary celebrity. It is a curious circumstance that the world should thus be indebted to the Fort Stanwix Treaty for the "Leather Stocking Tales."

[2] At this point in the lake, and almost in the stream itself, stands a large boulder known as Council Rock. Cooper in his "Chronicles of Cooperstown," tells how the trees that once overhung it formed "a noble and appropriate canopy to a seat that had held many a forest chieftain during the long succession of unknown ages in which America and all it contained existed apart, as a world by itself."

we found a Body of Indians mostly from Ahquhaga come to pay their Devoirs to the Col; some of them speak a little English. The Colonels low Grounds intended for Meadow lie at some Distance; he talks of opening a Road from hence to Brekabeen on the Schoharie from whence there is already a Waggon Road to the Kaatskill. We lodged at Col. Croghans and next Morng. get all ready to go on the Survey, Robt Picken our other Surveyor being gone down to wait upon the Duchess of Gordon & Col. Morris (whose Tract adjoins to our Patent) & not expected back in 10 Days.

17th We departed at 9 oCloc with two pack Horses carrying Provisions and Baggage & one riding Horse with 5 Men as Chain Carriers and Servants & Two Mohawk Indians as guides.[1] In about 4 Miles we came to the Oaksnee[2] which is the Branch that leads into the Susquehannah from Lake Camadu-

ragy

[1] One of these was the notorious sachem Joseph Brant, who has since figured as the Commander of a Bloody Banditti.—R. S.

Brant's character was not so black as it has often been painted, nor as the expression "commander of a bloody banditti" would imply. Brant, whose Indian name was Thayendanegea, and who is the most interesting, if not the most famous personage in connection with the Revolutionary history of Central New York, was now 27 years old. He was of distinguished lineage, his grandfather, a king of the Mohawks, having been one of the five Iroquois kings, who in 1710 visited Queen Anne, their stay in London being described by Steele in the "Tatler" and Addison in the "Spectator." Under Sir William Johnson's patronage, Brant for two years had been a student at Dr. Wheelock's school in Lebanon, Conn., where, in Dr. Wheelock's words, he "much endeared himself to his teacher." He was with Sir William at the siege of Fort Niagara in 1759, and again at the battle of Lake George. In 1761 he taught the Mohawk tongue to Samuel Kirkland, the missionary to the Indians, who founded Hamilton College.

[2] Now known as Oaks Creek.

ragy.[1] It is here about 8 or 10 yards wide and very rapid. We felled a large Tree to cross upon and observed a rich low Bottom on each side of the Oaksnee but not wide. On the Way we passed several deep Morasses & found great Variety of Timber mixt with White Pine. The Waters of the Oaksnee are not green like those of the Otsego Duct.

At Half after Two oCloc after passing along Hartwicks Line[2] we arrived at the Otego before it enters our Tract.[3] We crossed this Creek and dined in the rich low Bottom appertaining to it, the Current at this Spot does not exceed 5 yards in Width running down rapidly. The Soil hither abounds with shelly or slate Stone which for the most Part is covered by a thin Stratum of blac Mould. The Low Land on Otego is irregular and unequal, in some Places half a Mile broad, in others not 20 Yards, but the Glebe is of the right kind and the Trees strong and lofty. The Country in general is hilly and full of fallen timber ; here are a variety of Weeds, good grass for the Horses and plenty of currant and Gooseberry Bushes. After traversing a deep Hemloc Swamp we encamped in the Eveng. 11 or 12 Miles from Croghans. We found a Beaver Dam across one of the Branches of Otego. Our Indians in Half an Hour erected a House capable of sheltering

[1] The lake at Richfield Springs, afterwards called Schuyler's Lake, from David Schuyler, to whom a patent of land in those parts was granted in 1755. In recent years the Indian name has been restored, the accepted spelling being Canadurango.

[2] John C. Hartwick's tract is now a township, bearing Hartwick's name.

[3] By this the author means that they reached the upper waters of the creek, not the point where it enters the Susquehanna.

JOSEPH BRANT (THAYENDANEGEA)

FROM A PORTRAIT MADE IN LONDON FROM LIFE DURING BRANT'S VISIT IN 1776,
THE SAME BEING AN ORIGINAL DRAWING FORMERLY IN THE
POSSESSION OF JAMES BOSWELL

tering us from the wet for it rained most of the Day and Night succeeding. They place 4 crotched stakes in the Earth, the Two front ones being tallest. On these are rested poles which are crossed by other poles and these are covered with wide hemloc Bark; a large chearful Fire being soon raised in the Front, they compleated our Kitchin and Bed Chamber wherein after broiling Salt Pork for supper we rested prepared by Fatigue very comfortably.

18th. About Six oCloc we moved from our Encampmt; this strong uneven Land is covered with Beech, Sugar Maple, Ash and various other sorts of Wood, the surface covered here and there with shelly stones, & at ½ after 11 oCloc we hit upon the East and West Line between Croghans and our Otego Tract about 3 Miles from the N. W. Corner. This morning we surmounted sundry high Hills and came over 5 or 6 Branches of the Otego and had the satisfaction of dining on our own Territory which is here low and tolerably level but in most places stony under a surface of blac Mould. Hitherto we have seen no Snakes or Wild Beasts nor have we killed any Thing but the Porcupine. At ½ after Two oCloc we crossed a Brook of the Unadella[1] and a little beyond it in the middle of one

[1] Since named by Robert Lettis Hooper Burlington Creek. Neither the Unadella or the Otego are marked on Evans's or any other map to my knowledge.—R. S.

Probably the Unadilla River was not known by its present name when these maps were drawn. Unadilla at first was merely a term for the place where this stream joins the Susquehanna, its meaning being place of meeting, or confluence. Here three counties now come together—Otsego, Chenango, and Delaware. In Delaware County just above the confluence, lies the village of Sidney. Unadilla has since become, not only the name of the river here

one of the finest Bottoms in the World stands the Corner to this and the Otsego or Croghans Patent, a Butternut marked

"*G: C: C: Y:—768*"

The Letters stand for George Croghan and his surveyor Christopher Yates.

The Forest in this Bottom is composed of Birch, Sugar Maple, Wild cherry, Blac Thorn, Butternut, Elm, white and red, Iron Wood & many more with a vast Variety of rank Weeds and Grass above a Foot high. The Place may be easily cleared.[1] The Breadth of this Bottom above a Quarter of a Mile and the Length farther than could be seen. We set a South Course by the Compass & found that a large Part of the Bottom was without our Tract. From the above Butternut Corner Messrs. Biddle and Ridgway began the Survey, running down this Afternoon 3 Miles due East. The Timber along this Line hither is chiefly tall Beech, Sugar Maple, and Hemloc; not an Oak or Hiccory was seen. Besides Burlington Creek which I waded thro being above the Knee

tributary to the Susquehanna, but of the township in Otsego County which lies east of it in the corner of that county formed by the two streams, and also the name of the village on the Susquehanna five miles above Sidney. Unadilla Village gained importance early in the 19th century as the terminus of the Catskill and Susquehanna Turnpike, then one of the great highways, leading into Central New York. Likewise Otego was originally a name for the mouth of the creek only. While the creek now bears the name, the settlement called Otego that grew up after the Revolution is situated several miles distant on the Susquehanna.

[1] Some years after this Benjamin Lull, perfected choice meadows round this corner.—R. S.

Mr. Lull, with several grown-up sons, came into the country in 1777.

Knee and about 8 or 10 yards wide running with a strong Current over a stony Bottom, the soil a shelly stone slightly covered with black mold. We passed several Rivulets & noticed divers good seats for Mills. There was one long Hill of gradual Ascent & others smaller but the ground more level than any yet observed. We passed thro a large natural Nursery of Cherry Trees supposed by some of the Company to be the Blac Mazard Cherry. The Water is good and many living Springs.

19th. It rained all Night and this Morning & we experienced, now and often, that our temporary Bark Habitations can preserve us dry. The lively Note of the Swamp Robin, the Red Bird and other Birds from the earliest Dawn is entertaining. The Trees are out in compleat Leaf every where. We lay by all Day being rainy. At the Pearl Ash Work in Cherry Valley, we are informed two men make above a Ton per Month. They receive £40 p Ton delivered at the Mohawks River a Carriage of 12 Miles and are paid in goods.

20th. We came 3 Miles before Dinner thro a good Soil tolerably level and near Half the Way is low ground proper for Meadow, well timbered with Beech, Sugar Maple Wild Cherry, Ash, a few blac Oaks and several Groves of Hemloc, but no Hiccory or Pine. Some of the Hellibore is two feet high. We saw Two Garter Snakes and one of our savages snapt his Gun at 4 Wolves. We skirted a beautiful Lake Half a Mile long and a Quarter of a Mile wide, surrounded with gently swelling Hills; it disembogues in a placid stream and presents a most

most fit spot for Water Works.[1] We crossed many Brooks and discovered not a few Fountains, for the whole Line is well watered above. Half the Timber is Beech & Underbrush, plenty in most Parts. Nearly 7 Miles from the Corner is a Knowle somewhat in the Form of a Sugar Loaf, beautifully stationed so as to command a Prospect all around of low grounds which extend to Otego Creek, here broken into several Islands, the Water 2 Feet deep and very rapid, the largest Branch 8 or 10 yards wide. The Valley is about half a Mile from Hill to Hill and of the richest Kind, Nature producing a Multitude of Herbs, Plants and Flowers and inter alia the wild Lilly and the Polishing Reed used by Joiners; the Timber here Elm, Beech, Sugar Maple, Birch Wild Cherry and others, a gravelly Bottom to the Creeks and wild rasberries in plenty.

There is a high Hill on the farther Bank of Otego which, and another arm of it being passed, we arrived at Hartwick's Corner, a Sugar Maple, which is just 7½ Miles and 16½ Chains from the Butternuts.[1] We begin to be teazed with Muscetoes and little Gnats called here Punkies. The remainder of this days journey was thro hilly ground with moderate Ascents and Descents; Two Hemloc Swamps & Sundry Brooks occurred; the Soil & Wood as before with

[1] This Lake is now the property of my nephew John Smith and called Smith's Lake.—R. S.

On a map dated 1856 it is known as Gilbert's Lake.

[1] The Butternut Creek is tributary to the Unadilla River. General Jacob Morris, nephew of Staats Long Morris, ascended it in a canoe in 1787, founded a settlement on its banks, and in 1795 was visited there by the French statesman, Talleyrand.

with the Addition of a few large White Pines, not a single Pitch Pine yet seen.

21st It rained all last Night and this Morning. Nevertheless we proceeded and 9½ Miles and 11½ chains from the Butternuts we crossed over an exalted Hill from whence there is a view beyond the Susquehannah to the right. At the Foot of this Hill we passed the Brook Letter B in Pickens Map about 8 Feet broad and runs with a brisk pace, murmuring like the rest of the Rivulets over Stones, the Meadow on both sides 100 yards wide but not so rich as some we have seen. Rising the opposite Hill we found at the Foot of it another Brook as large as Letter B, & afterwards passed many other streams and springs with a deep Hemloc Swamp. Some of these Rivulets descend under Ground and rise again at a Distance, great variety of Flowers in every Direction and plenty of a particular Species of Grass thought to be the small Plaintain or Sheep Grass of which our Horses are fond.

After labor thro a long Hemloc Morass bordered on the River with a good but narrow Bottom we came to the Susquehannah and marked a Butternut Saplin for a Corner by the edge of the River in the said low Ground, standing between a Blac Birch a Linden and a Sugar Maple all marked, where the River bears S. 2° E. and is about 30 yards wide running with a still but strong Current. The Length of this E. and West Side is 12 Miles 50 chains and 50 Links. I tried to fish with Bacon Bait but caught Nothing. We encamped on the Borders of the River in the midst of a Shower and it was the first Time I ever slept in a Morass. The Timber on

this

this part of the Susquehh. is mostly Elm and Sugar Maple; on the opposite Shore there is a Grove of Hemlocs and the Underbrush here as in many other Places is not very thick.

22nd. Wm. Ridgway and myself went up to the Colo.[1] with the Men and one Pack Horse leaving R. Wells Jos Biddle and John Hicks at the Corner Tent. We had a fatiguing Walk over Hills and Bogs and several Times wandered out of the Way and lost each other. At length Ridgway & myself found out the Oaksnee assisted by the Compass. The rapidity of this stream carried me off several yards till I happened to seize a Tree & escaped with the Loss only of one Shoe which the Violence of the Current took from my foot. The Oaksnee at this Spot is 12 or 15 yards broad and between 3 and 4 Feet deep. We met Mr. Picken at the Oaksnee and he returned with us. I walked 4 or 5 Miles thro a rugged path with one Shoe and saw by the Way a Pheasants Nest with 7 Eggs of the same Color and Shape and Twice the Size of a Partridges Egg. The Land from our upper Corner to Col. Croghans House along the Susquehannah is in general but indifferent, some deep Meadow & low Ground but far more which is rough & hilly.

23d. Mr. Wells, Biddle and Hicks came to us at Col. Croghans; none of our yesterdays Party except one came in today; being rainy we staid here all day.

24th. It rained again. The Elevated Hills and aspiring of this country seem to intercept the flying vapors

[1] Col. George Croghan.

vapors and draw down more moisture than more humble places. So Nature wisely feeds the two great Rivers whose sources are here';[1] we advanced N. W. along the Lake near a Mile into the woods with 3 carpenters felled a white Pine Tree and began a Canoe. Two men detached yesterday Morng. to seek out our lost Associates returned and brought in one only with a Chain and Keg; the other Two men with Pickens Son and the Pack Horse are still missing.

The Lands seen today are like the rest covered with White Pines, Elm, Beech, Birch & so on, the Soil a gravelly Clay and Situation somewhat more level than usual with some Gullies & Runs of Water. We saw a few Hiccory and Oak Trees which are rare here. Some Trout were caught this Morng. 22 Inches long; they are spotted like ours with Yellow Bellies, yellow Flesh when boiled & wide mouths. There are Two species, the Common & the Salmon Trout. Some Chubs were likewise taken above a Foot in Length. The other Fish common in the Lake & other Waters, according to Information are Pickerel, large and shaped like a Pike, Red Perch, Catfish reported to be upwards of Two feet long, Eels, Suckers, Pike, a few shad and some other Sorts not as yet perfectly known. The Bait now used is Pidgeons Flesh or Guts, for Worms are

[1] The author may refer here to the source of the Delaware as well as the Susquehanna, but the Delaware rises at Stamford, thirty miles distant in a straight line. Small streams tributary to the Mohawk descend the hills a few miles north of Otsego Lake ; but these latter are scarcely the source of the Mohawk. Doubtless the author had in mind the hill country in general in those parts, as the source of the Susquehanna and Delaware.

are scarce.[1] The Land Frogs or Toads are very large, spotted with green and yellow, Bears and Deer are common; I saw their Dung often and both the Species were seen by some of our Company.[2]

After Dinner Mr. Picken and another went out on a Scout after our lost Men. Two others also took a different Rout for the same Purpose. Muscetoes & Gnats are now troublesome. We observed a natural Strawberry Patch before Croghans Door which is at present in bloom, we found the Ground Squirrels and small red squirrels very numerous and I approached near to one Rabbit whose Face appeared of a blac Colour.

25th. We finished and launched our Canoe into the Lake. She is 32 Feet 7 Inches in Length and 2 Feet 4 Inches broad; the next Day we made oars and Paddles.

26th. Our lost Party returned having been 4 Days

[1] In 1773 the Settlers had procured a Sein which with a Canoe they drew across the Susquehanna. I happened to lodge one night, May 17, at their Fishing Hut, while several women amused themselves in catching fine Shad, Herring, Trout, Chub, and Succers.—R. S.

[2] In April 1777, being at John Sleeper's House on the Otego, he told me his Boys had taken 12 or 15 deer that winter near the House. They had placed a Steel Trap by the side of a Dead Cow wherein I saw a large she-wolf, sleek and plump, and the next Morning the same Trap secured a Raven.—R. S.

John Sleeper was probably a son of Joseph Sleeper, a Quaker preacher from New Jersey, whom Mr. Smith induced to settle on the Otego tract. Joseph Sleeper was a man of many frontier accomplishments, being besides preacher a surveyor, mill-wright, carpenter, stone-mason, and blacksmith. He built the first saw and grist mill on the Otego patent, doing the work himself, and securing patrons from points as far distant as thirty miles. Brant was often a guest at his home. Some Seneca Indians, on their return from Cherry Valley, after the massacre, visited Sleeper's home, and robbed it of food and clothing. Brant tried in vain to restrain them.

Days & Nights in the Wilderness without Food; they abandoned the pack Horse and Goods in the Woods.

27th. We are waiting for our goods. Picken was dispatched to Cherry Valley to hasten some Hands hired there; we engaged Joseph Brant the Mohawk to go down with us to Aquahga.[1] Last Night a drunken Indian came and kissed Col. Croghan and me very joyously; here are natives of different Nations almost continually; they visit the Deputy Superintendent as Dogs to the Bone for what they can get. John Davies a young Mohawk, one of the Retinue, who has been educated at Dr. Wheelocks[2] School in Connecticut, now quitted our Service to march agt. the Catawbas[3] in company with a few of his Countrymen who take this long Tour merely to gratify revenge or Satiate Pride.

We found many petrifyed Shells in these Parts & sometimes on the Tops of high Hills, & they seem on a transient Glance to be of the Marine Kind. Col. Croghan says he once found oyster shells on the Allegheny MountS. He shewed us a piece of copper Ore

[1] More properly written Oghwaga. In the 18th century the name was spelled in almost every conceivable manner. Oghwaga, the most ancient and the largest Indian settlement on the Susquehanna, was closely identified with the Border Wars of the Revolution as a headquarters and base of supplies for the Indians.

[2] Rev. Dr. Eleazir Wheelock of Lebanon, Conn., where, under the patronage of Sir William Johnson, many Indian boys besides Joseph Brant were educated. The school was afterwards removed to Concord, N. H., and out of it was eventually developed Dartmouth College.

[3] The Catawba Indians lived on the river of the same name in the Carolinas. They had long been at enmity with the Iroquois, and with some of the southwestern tribes. With the white settlers they were friendly, and in the Revolution assisted the patriot cause.

Ore as supposed. The Indian who gave it to him said he found it on our Tract.[1] We are told that Lake Camadurագy contains much Fish of the Kinds already noted. Col. C. says that some of his Cows were out in the Woods all last Winter without Hay and they now look well and a Man at the other Lake lost a Horse last Fall and found him this Spring in good order. Our Goods and Horse were recovered to day. The Colonel says he has sold his land back of Hardwick's Patent to sixty New England Families at 6/ an Acre and that some of them will settle on the Tract this Fall.[2]

The Col. had a Cargo of Goods arrived to day such as Hogs, Poultry, Crockery Ware and Glass. The settled Indian Wages here are 4/. a Day York Currency, being Half a Dollar.

28th Sunday. I had an Opportunity of inspecting the Bark Canoes often used by the Natives; these Boats are constructed of a single sheet of Bark stripped from the Elm, Hiccory or Chesnut, 12 or 14 Feet long and 3 or 4 Feet broad and sharp at each End and these sewed with Thongs of the same Bark. In Lieu of a Gunnel they have a small Pole fastned with Thongs, sticks across & Ribs of Bark, and they deposit Sheets of Bark in her Bottom to prevent Breaches there. These vessels are very light, each broken and often patched with Pieces of Bark as well as corked with Oakum composed of pounded Bark.

Col.

[1] I found a transparent Stone there in 1773 which has much the appearance of polished Chrystal.—R. S.

[2] This settlement appears never to have been made.

Col. C. says that Capt. Prevoost has sold some of his Lands at £20, and some at £40 p Hundred Acres (credat Indæns Apella non Ego). The Col. talks of building a Saw Mill and Grist Mill here on the Susquehannah near his House and has had a Millwright to view the Spot.[1]

29th. Myself with Joseph Brant his wife and Child and another Young Mohawk named James went down in the new Canoe to our upper Corner whilst the rest of the Company travelled by land. Wm. Ridgway and 3 others were detached to the Otego to take the courses of the Creek. Picken is to take the courses of the Susquehannah. This River from the Lake Otsego hither is full of Logs and Trees and short crooked Turns and the Navigation for Canoes and Batteaux requires Dexterity. Ed. Croghan is about to employ the Indians in the useful service of removing the logs next summer.[2] My Two Mohawks brought me safe and without any Delay, save about an Hour that it took to cut away some Logs which crossed the stream and stopped the Passage

[1] This was never done, but some Transient Travellers from Monmouth County N. Jersey, afterwards erected a good Bridge over the river, just where it issues from the Lake.—R. S.

At this point the Susquehanna is still spanned by a bridge, which continues eastward the main business street of Cooperstown. Just below the bridge, on both sides of the river, are the grounds in which stands the summer home of Bishop and Mrs. Henry C. Potter.

[2] In 1779 General James Clinton and his army, en route to join Sullivan in his expedition against the Indians, met with the same difficulties. He overcame them by building a dam across the river, which raised the waters of the lake two or three feet. He then released the waters by breaking the dam, so that his flotilla passed rapidly down the river to Tioga Point, a distance of more than one hundred miles.

sage totally till we cleared it by hard labor.[1] The current very rapid, the [bottom] commonly Gravel and the waters clear so that we saw many large Fish swimming up. The Indians strike them with Harpoons and sharp pointed sticks. Settingpoles are more used than Paddles.

It is perhaps about Ten Miles from Croghans to our Upper Corner by Land and near 20 by Water; the Oaksnee is not so large at the Mouth as the Susquehannah. I did not observe any large Creeks besides. The Lands along the River on either Hand are generally level and the greater Part might be made Meadow & some extraordinary good, particularly at the Mouth of the Oaksnee and several other Places where the Weeds and Grass were high and the Timber Butternut, Sugar Maple, Beech, Hemloc & many other Species. I saw divers Grape Vines, the Bunches were quite out and ready to bloſsom. They appeared to be of the little blac winter Grape. A Young Bear was killed and eaten by our People. In the Evening Messrs. Wells and Biddle myself and an Indian struck off a South Westerly Course thro the Tract to examine it; we travelled Two Miles and encamped; it rained all Night.

30th We moved on very early and reached the Otego about Two oCloc at the Place where it is broken into several Branches forming Islands. The Creek just below is about 50 Feet broad running at present with much Velocity; it rained all Day. In the

[1] In May 1773, I carried down a large loaded Batteau from the Head of Lake Otsego to the mouth of Otego, and then up that Creek [several] more miles, being probably the first white man that ever [navigated] that creek so high.—R. S.

the Dawn of this Morng. I was waked up by the Yell of a wild Beast within 100 yards of our Tent, conjectured to be either a Wolf or Panther.

The Otego here has a stony Bottom; we walked down it near a Mile and in some places the Low Land on each Side is rich but narrow, exhibiting a great Variety of Plants Weeds and Vegetables and among the rest the Rasberry, Gooseberry, much Hellebore which is common all over the Low Lands & some of it is now near 3 Feet high, Water Grass and other Herbage. One Meadow is almost clear of Wood and ready for the Scythe. We could not well discover the Extent of the Meadows on the Western Banks of Otego, but they appeared to excel the Eastern which seldom were more than 100 yards wide and now and then the Hills reached the Edge of the Water. The Islands are good & rich. These Parts are not much encumbered with Under Brush & the prevailing Woods are Elm, Blac Thorn and Button wood.

We had taken an oblique Direction thro the Heart of the Patent, from the upper Corner to the Otego, guessed to be at least 14 Miles over 12 extensive and exalted Hills forming all the Course save a few small Intervales not remarkable for Goodness. In the Evening we steered across for Skeneves but soon built our Bark Shed and made our Fire as usual for the Night. The Indians have a convenient mode of carrying their Children. On a broad Board 2 or 3 Feet long there are fastned Bindings of List, Cloth or Wampum which grow larger from the lower to the upper End in the Manner of a Partridge Net, with a Hoop at the Head. In this

 Kind

Kind of Basket they tye the Child with its Blanket or [Clothes] on. The Board has a Strap by which they Sling it on the Shoulders. Upon occasion they set the Board and Infant upright against a Tree or lay it out of the Way with little Trouble. They bind the Children too tight so as to swell the Face and make them uneasy. The Mother washes her Offspring often. It continues to be rainy Weather.

31st. Yesterday I observed a Birds Nest on the Ground at the Foot of a Tree containing 3 Eggs of the same Colour, Size and Shape of the Robins Egg. I suppose they belong to the Swamp Robin who delights in Solitude, avoiding the Haunts of Mankind & whose chearful and sprightly Note in the dreary Wilderness often enlivens the weary Traveller. Yesterday also and before and after we discovered petrifyed Sea Shells at the Top of the Hill on the Roots of large Trees blown down and at the Bottom of Brooks.

At 7 oCloc A. M. we decamped for Skeneves & hit the Susquehannah near 2 Miles below; then following the common Indian Path[1] we arrived at the Landing opposite to Yokums House at one oCloc: it is supposed to be about 6 Miles across from the Otego to Skeneves. Yokum says he has travelled often to Schoharie along a path the same which Col. Morris and the Duchess of Gordon lately

[1] This was the regular Susquehanna trail, one branch of which in these parts went to Otsego Lake and Cherry Valley, and another, following the Charlotte, crossed from Summit Lake to Schoharie, whence it ran to Fort Hunter and the Mohawk. Following this trail southward one met the Oneida trail at the mouth of the Unadilla River. Proceeding thence along the Susquehanna one could find his way to Chesapeake Bay.

lately took on Horseback with their retinue; he thinks it is between 40 and 50 Miles and he has walked it in a day; that there is but one Creek and that is fordable and about 3 large Hills & has no Doubt but that a good Road may be opened for Carriages.

Yokum (or Joachim Falkenberg)[1] has lived here with his Family 4 years, he is a Dutchman but speaks good English, pays no Rent as yet to Livingston, built the House, but found the Orchard already planted by the Indians who also planted one at the Mouth of Otego. The Pheasants are plentiful. Of those we saw one had 8 or 9 young ones; they are said to be fond of Beech nuts wherein these Parts abound.

The Course we took yester evening and to day from Otego was about E. by S.; we passed 5 High and long Hills constituting nearly the whole Distance. These Hills are for the most Part tillable; much Small Slate Stone on the Surface of the Soil covered sometimes by that dark mould which is derived from putrified Leaves and Vegetables; there are a few Flats but the Bone is more plentiful than the Flesh. We traversed one or more Hills supposed to be the Corner of Letter F. in Pickens Map or of that Nature; this Part sustains a few large White Pines and a little Brush but most of it has been destroyed by Fire and the Soil is stony in Clay, very barren & good for little except the Slopes of

[1] Joachim Van Valkenberg, whose family for forty years had been settled in the Mohawk Valley, came to this place in 1765. In the Border Wars he was a noted scout. In 1781 he was killed in a battle on Summit Lake.

of Hills which produced Rasberries Strawberries, Blacberries and other Fruits and Flowers but Limestone seems to abound.[1]

Along this Tour Beech is the Master Wood as Oak is in Pennsylvania; this is nearly equalled by the Sugar Maple, nor is there any Want of Elm, Linden, Iron Wood, Some Chesnut, a few Blac, red and White Oak, Shell bark, Hiccory, together with Button wood, Ash, Hemloc, White Pine, Birch, Wild Cherry, Blac Thorn, Butternut and others. The Hemloc grow mostly in Swamps but sometimes in Groves on the Upland; the White Pine is scattered here and there; the Button Wood Blac Thorn and Butternut are to be found chiefly in Marsh and low Grounds and along the Sides of Creeks & the River; the rest grow indifferently on the Mountains & Valleys. The Trees are ever tall and lofty, sometimes 200 Feet high and strait, but not proportionally large in Circumference, except some white Pines and a few particular Trees of other Kinds which are both long and bulky.[2]

The Underbrush is in some Places very thick; in others one may almost ride in a chair. The Woods are in many Parts blocked up with fallen Trees, so that it was a wearisome Pilgrimage for me. My Companions bore it better. The whole Country is well watered by Creeks Brooks & Springs.

In

[1] This Letter F was thought too unprofitable to be divided with the rest among the Owners; so it remains, about 2,000 acres in Quantity, the Common Property of all concerned in the Patent.— R. S.

[2] Some years afterwards John Sleeper and myself measured a Birch Tree growing in his Meadow on the Border of Otego Creek, and found it 26 feet in Circumference.— R. S.

In the Afternoon we went over the River to Yokums House; the Susquehannah is fordable at this spot. The Orchard planted by the Natives is irregular and not in rows; some Trees are a few Feet & some many Yards asunder & they are at present in Bloſsom. I discerned one Morella cherry among them; they are middle sized & look healthy and vigorous. We have cold Weather for the Season and Rain again to-day. Skeneves Creek was so termed from an Indian of that Name who formerly lived there. The Indian Graves in the Orchard are not placed in any regular Order nor shaped in one Fashion. One of them was a flat Pyramid of about 3 Feet high trenched round; another was flatted like a Tomb and a Third something like our Form. Here is level, rich Pasture Land cleared long since by the Indians & the remains of their Corn Hills yet to be seen. Yokum's Mare looks in good order and has been out in the Woods all winter but there is now good pasture of our common Grass in the cleared Parts.

The Indians of Aquhaga, Otsiningo (or as the Maps spell them Ononchquage and Osewingo) and other places below have a Path along the Susquehannah on the West side to Skeneves where they ford the River and have their Path on the East side up to Cherry Valley; the River here may be 25 Yards over at present a rapid Stream and there is a dangerous Passage occasioned by Logs a Quarter of a Mile below where Two Canoes lately overset and a white Child was drowned. Many People are passing this Way to view the Country. Yokums Indian Corn is planted but not yet come up. He says he com-

 monly

monly raises very good Corn with the Hoe only having but lately procured a Plow. He has a small Garden. The Indians are not troublesome to Him tho they often call at his House; he has sown no Wheat or Rye, obtains his Necessaries chiefly from Cherry Valley, but would rather from Schoharie if the Road was opened. Col. Morris and the Ducheſs lodged 3 Nights at his House 2 or 3 weeks ago, with a large Train of Attendants; they went over to view their Tract at Unadella or as some call it Tunaderrah.[1]

Here we met with one Dorn a Dutchman with his Family from Conejoharie going to settle at Wywomoc; he informs us That he bought of the Proprietors of Pennsylvania 300 acres chiefly Flats for £5 sterling p Hundred to be paid in 15 years without Interest and a Penny an Acre sterlg Quit Rent payable annually; That 130 Families from his Neighborhood on the Mohawks River have actually bought there and are about to remove, his Family being the second, the Man who lost his Child here the first;[2] that he has travelled from Sopus to Depues on the Delaware,[3] a good Waggon Road & one

[1] Other forms of this word in contemporary writings are Tunadilla, Tianadorha, Cheonadilla and Teyonadelhough.

[2] By Wywomoc is meant the Wyoming Valley. These families from the Mohawk represented a migration independent of the one from Connecticut and essentially hostile to it. By "the Proprietors of Pennsylvania" the author means the Penn party between whom and the Connecticut settlers conflicts were springing up which are known in history as the Pennamite Wars. In 1775 some forty of these families from the Mohawk (Dutch and Scotch-Irish) were expelled from Wyoming by the Yankees. The resentment thus caused became one of the contributory motives for the massacre of 1778.

[3] Above the Water-gap whence the route lay past the Pocono Mountains.

& one may go it on Horseback in Two Days. From Depues to Wywomoc are 30 Miles, a Foot path but may be rode very well on a Horse; 40 miles from Wywomoc to Bethlehem at present a Foot path but they are soon to make a Waggon Road; that he has been on the Delaware 15 or 20 miles above Cookoose and 15 below that. They were obliged to carry the Canoe 5 Times and the last Time above a Mile & a half, thinks he should have been lost if it had not been for the assistance of his Indians on the Rocks and Falls in those Parts; that 15 miles below the Cookoose one Decker lived[1] who traded to Philad[a] in a large Durham Boat[2] so that from thence it is passable; it was 10 years since he was here.[3] They call it 20 Miles from Yokums House to Cherry Valley; his Son goes and returns on Horseback in One Day between Sun & Sun.[4] The Canoe we had built at the Lake being gone up for Provisions for the Use of the Surveyors our Indians Joseph Brant & James set about building a Bark Canoe.

June 1. 1769. We found it very cold last Night & observed high Hills all round Yokums House at a small Distance. Mess[rs] Wells and Biddle this Day marked out a Path to the intended Store House on the Creek Onoyarenton.[5] Joseph discovered a Rattle

[1] At the mouth of the East Branch, or what is now Hancock.

[2] The boat referred to in the Introduction as used for the shipment of grain from points on the upper Delaware.

[3] In the sequel we met with none of these Difficulties on the Delaware; nor is it probable that any White Person ever dwelt between Cookose and Cushietunk.—R. S.

[4] I have found it a moderate day's Journey from my house in Otego to Cherry Valley by the foot of Lake Otsego.—R. S.

[5] Now written Oneonta. The village of that name is the largest town on the Susquehanna above Binghamton. The word means a stony place.

Rattle Snake not far from the Tent and called for me to view it. The Snake lay quiet till we provoked him to rattle for Some Time and then James ran a sharp Stick thro his Head. He was about 3½ Feet long, small at the Neck and Tail and thick in the Middle. His Back was of a brown Hue spotted with dusky red and yellow, his Belly of a bright Yellow slightly spotted; he had 12 Rattles, a large Mouth and Two very sharp Teeth, one on each Side of the Upper Jaw & these it is said he can draw back at his Pleasure; he did not attempt to bite tho we stood about him for some Minutes — probably the coolneſs of the weather benumbed him. This was the only Rattle Snake I ever saw alive.

This Evening our Bark Canoe being finished, at ½ after 5 oCloc myself, Joseph Brant his Wife and Child embarked in Her with some Loading and Mr. Wells with James the other Indian in a small Wood Canoe containing most of the Indians Baggage and our own. We first walked down the path about Half a Mile to avoid the bad Passage before mentioned, Jos. Biddle going so far to see us on board. Thus we parted from our tent at the landing opposite to Skevenes, or Yokum's, now on our return homewards. We paddled down stream two hours, and enjoying a fine serene Evening as we descended the stream about 10 Miles to a Bark Hut where we found a Fire burning. There was but one other carrying place and the man said we might have well passed that as they in the canoe came safe through. We passed the Adiquetinge[1] on the left & the

[1] Now the Charlotte, which early settlers were in the habit of pronouncing Shalott. Sir William Johnson, on receiving a patent to an extensive tract bordering on this river, changed the name to Charlotte as a compliment to

& the Onoyarenton on the Right. The first appeared to be abo^{t} 40 Feet broad at the Mouth with rich Bottom on each Side, the latter a very small Creek not more than 12 or 15 Feet over. There are many Islands and all low good Bottom particularly a large one below the Adiquetinge very fine. We found some good Bottoms on our Side down to the Beginning of Sir W^{m} Johnsons Land and some Intervale but divers great barren Hills good for little.

We took Notice of Sir Williams Tract on each Side of the River and he likewise has his Portion of Mountainous Lands with Spots of good Meadow wider and more considerable on the East Side than on the West. We could not know the Breadth of some of the Flats with any Accuracy when they were broad because we sat low in our diminutive Vessels and slid expeditiously along.

2^{d} The Cold last Night and for several Nights past was extreme for the Season so that I could not sleep well notwithstanding a rousing Fire, a Blanket, Great Coat and Bear Skin. The Place where we slept was an extensive Flat whereof a Patch was bare of Wood and overrun with Fern (the Filix Florida of the Botanists) a finer sort than ours, Two and Three Feet high. Much of this & other Sorts of Fern are dispersed over the Country; the May Apple, Hellebore and many more Herbs and Weeds are to be seen including Wild Balm, Wild Onions or rather a large kind of Garlic whose bulb is of the size of a Musket Bullet which is very common and of this the Butter at M^{r} Croghan's tasted strong, and

the Queen of George III. After the Revolution, the heirs of Sir William having been loyalists, the Charlotte Valley lands were confiscated by the state.

and including also wild Columbine, Nettles and Honeysuckles.

A Bear came this Morning near to us & was pursued by Brant and his Dog who after some Chase brought him in. This Mohawk it seems is a considerable Farmer possessing Horses and Cattle and 100 acres of rich Land at Canejoharie.[1] He says the Mohawks have lately followed Husbandry more than formerly, and that some Hemloc Swamps when cleared will produce good Timothy Grafs. In his Excursion after the Bear he says he was on the Onoyarenton and saw some good Flats there.

In an Hour after our Departure we arrived at the old Field[2] near the Mouth of Otego where we met Wm Ridgway who finished traversing that Creek yesterday Evening; he makes the exact Length of the Otego according to its various Windings.—(R. Wells has taken a Copy of the Courses & Distances)

We landed and walked half a Mile along the Path to the old Field and from thence it is about Half a Mile to the Mouth of Otego. We dined here in Company with Mr William Harper and Mr Campbell[3] the Surveyor who are now running out Harpers Patent.

Ridgeway

[1] Brant's house in Canajoharie was a frame structure 14 x 16 feet in size. The cellar wall was standing as late as 1878. Here Brant once had as his guest a missionary named Theophilus Chamberlain, who said afterwards that Brant was "exeeeding kind."

[2] Originally called Wauteghe, a corruption of which is the modern Otego. Here had existed a rather large Indian village. An orchard extended along the northern side of the river.

[3] Harper and Campbell were from Cherry Valley. The former served as a captain in the Border Wars, and was living in Cherry Valley at the time of the massacre.

Ridgeway & Hicks were likewise present. This field has been formerly planted by the Indians with Corn and Apple Trees; a few of the latter remain scattered about and are now in Bloom & intermixed with Aspens & other wild Trees with Rasberries and Blackberries & there are Quantities of Strawberry vines in Bloſsom. The Soil is fit for the Plow and tolerably level but surrounded by Hills and on the other side of Susquehannah are high Ridges in Appearance of little value.

The Point on the East side of Otego is good but there is not much of it; on the West Mouth there is more but we did not go over. The Otego is here but narrow and fordable for Horses. The Susquehannah may be about 50 yards over. Sir Wm Johnson's Tract on each side of the River hither continues hilly with some intervales and small rich pieces, the Hills very high and I think not tillable in general. The Low Lands on the West Side of Otego are thought to excel those on the East.[1] W. Ridgway saw Yesterday Indians who had just taken Two young Beavers alive in the Otego. Numbers of Saplins are cut off by these animals. Wild Hops grow here in Plenty said to answer the Purposes of Garden Hops.

In 3 Hours & 3 Quarters from the Mouth of Otego we reached a Place on the East shore where we encamped. Many parts of these shores have choice Bottoms flanked at a little Distance by moderate Mountains with some even upland; in some Places the Hills reached the Water, in [some] of these

[1] This has since been found true.—R. S

these we are told that King Fishers breed in the Bank. The Path to Ahquhaga is very near the River mostly; the widest Bottoms appeared to me to be from the Otego downwards on either shore for 3 or 4 Miles. These little Canoes as ballasted carry us very well. The Islands in the River are all rich. We saw no Creek of Note this Afternoon but were incommoded by Muscetoes. We imagine Sir Wm has at least one Third good Ground exclusive of Elevations.[1] This was a fine clear Day and warm.

Joseph being unwell took some Tea of the Sassafrass Root and slept in the open Air but was not much better next Morning.

3d Harper told us Yesterday that Sir Wm has some Hemloc Swamps cleared which produce plenty of good grass. The Distance from the Mouth of Otego to the Mouth of Unadella[2] is according to Harper & Campbell 16 Miles and from thence to Ahquhaga 28. Yesterday we came slower on account of Joseph's illness and the water for some miles less rapid. We set out about 7 oCloc and in Two Hours we arrived at a small village of Mohiccons consisting of 2 houses on the right hand and 3 on the Left, a Mile above

[1] Besides his patent to the Valley of the Charlotte, Sir William, as already stated, was owner of Susquehanna Valley lands — two miles on each side from the mouth of the Charlotte to the mouth of the Unadilla. The title subsequently (in 1770) passed into the hands of several men in New York City, chief among whom were Alexander and Hugh Wallace. The patent is still known as Wallace's. Both Wallaces became Tories, but their lands escaped confiscation thro having passed into the possession of Gouldsborough Banyar, whose attitude during the war was one of clever neutrality. He long survived the conflict, spending his last days in Albany as a blind old man whom a faithful negro was often seen piloting about the streets.

[2] Written Tunaderra in the original draft.

above Unadella.[1] Here we went on shore and perceived the Huts to be wretched and filled with Women and Children. They have Cows & Hogs & a little Land cleared with a Garden fenced in & Indian corn planted very slovenly. Among the Grass, the Cows were large and fat. I saw no fruit Trees except wild ones. The low Lands to the Unadella from several Miles above it are more extensive than any we have seen and as far up that Creek as we could discern they were low & fine yet bounded back by the same range of High Lands on each Hand. We passed many Islands & all good.

At this village we left our Wood Canoe and engaged a good looking old Indian named Una to take us down in his Canoe and pilot us over to the Delaware which is his Hunting Country. He took a Quarter of an Hour to dreſs Himself his Wife and little Son and then we all embarked. These Villagers could not speak English. The Unadella or Tunaderrah is large being 60 or 70 yards broad at the Mouth and here we enter the Indian Territory[2] not as yet ceded to the English.

At one oCloc we arrived at an Oneida Village of 4 or 5 Houses called the Great Island or Cunnahunta,[3] the Men were absent but a Number of pretty Children amused themselves with shooting Arrows at a Mark. The Houses resembled great old Barns. We

[1] That is, a mile above the confluence, three of these houses being in what is now Sidney, and two in the township of Unadilla.

[2] Here the Fort Stanwix line, coming down the Unadilla from the north, crossed the Susquehanna and thence went over the hills to the Delaware at Cookooze.

[3] Near the present village of Afton, Chenango County.

We dressed some Pork on the shore for Dinner and staid only Half an Hour. There are fine Islands and lowlands about Cunnahunta & yet between the Unadella & this there is much indifferent Soil. The Trees seem rather smaller than above. A Number of Ravens on One of the burnt barren Hills saluted us with their hoarse Croakings. The River now becomes wider.[1] Our Squaw in the Canoe suckles her son tho he seems to be between 2 and 3 years old. We saw Two Apple Trees before a Door of this Village and some of the Islands are a little cleared. The Master wood along Shore from the Unadilla is maple and in higher Ground Beech.

Forty minutes after 3 oCloc we passed by 2 Indian Houses on the left and just before us saw some Indians setting Fire to the Woods. Here are many Islands & one of them large, quite cleared and full of fine & high Grass. Much of the Upland hereabouts has been burnt & looks something like a settled Country. Several single Huts are seated on rich Spots & some are now building Houses and Apple Trees are seen by some of these Huts. The River yet has its Rapids where we slide fast along.

At 5 oCloc we entered Ahquhaga an Oneida Town of 15 or 16 big Houses on the East side and some on the West side of the Susquehanna just at the Moment of the Transit of Venus, which Mr. Wells observed with a Telescope he bought for that purpose. We took our Lodgings with the Rev. Mr. Ebenezer Moseley a Presbyterian Missionary

[1] In consequence of the large accessions made to its waters by the Unadilla River and several smaller streams.

sionary from Boston[1] who has an Interpreter named James Dean. Moseley enjoys a Salary of £100 Sterling and Dean £50 Sterlg. allowed by the Commissioners at Boston. The former has resided here 3 years and the latter 9 years. Mr. Dean says the Distance from Ahquhaga to Unadella is 25 Miles & from Ahquhaga to Otsiningo[2] across by Land 18, and by Water 40, the River making a large Turn.[3]

There are some good Islands opposite to this Village which has a suburb over the River on the Western Side. Here is a small wooden Fortress built some years ago by Capt. Wells of Cherry Valley but now used as a Meeting House.[4]

The Habitations here are placed straggling without any order on the Banks. They are composed of clumsy hewn Timbers & hewn Boards or Planks. You first enter an inclosed Shed or Portus which serves as a Wood house or Ketchin and then the Body of the Edifice consisting of an Entry thro upon the Ground of about 8 Feet wide on each side whereof is a Row of Stalls or Births resembling those of Horse Stables, raised a Foot from the Earth, 3 or 4 on either side according to the Size of the House, Floored and inclosed round, except the Front, and covered

[1] He has since turned Merchant.—R. S.

Mr. Moseley (Eleazer was his first name) was the last but three of many missionaries sent to Oghwaga between 1748 and 1770. The mission was maintained by the Boston commissioners of the Society in Scotland for Propagating the Gospel. James Dean in 1769 had been employed there under several successive missionaries.

[2] Otseningo was an Indian village further down the Susquehanna near Binghamton.

[3] At this point there is now a village called Great Bend.

[4] This fort was built in 1756, from plans prepared in Albany, under orders from Sir William Johnson.

covered on the Top. Each Stall contains an entire Family so that 6 or more families sometimes reside together, the Sisters with their Husbands and Children uniting while the Father provides them a Habitation; thus Brant & his Wife did not lodge with her Father who was a Priest & a Principal Man, but with her Sisters. The fire is made in the Middle of the Entry and a Hole is left in the Roof for the Smoke to escape for there is neither chimney nor window; consequently the place looks dark and dismal. The House is open as a Barn, save the Top of the Stalls which serve to contain their lumber by way of Garret. Beams are fixed Lengthways across the house, and on one of these, over the Fire, they hang their wooden Pot Hooks & cook their Food.

Furniture they have little; the Beds are dirty Blankets. The stalls are about 8 Feet long & 5 deep and the whole House perhaps from 30 to 50 Feet in length by 20 wide, filled too often with Squalor & Nastiness. Almost every House has a Room at the End opposite to the Ketchin serving as a larder for Provision; there are no cellars. The Roofs are no other than Sheets of Bark fastned crossways and inside to Poles by way of Rafters. Upon the Outside are split Logs which keep the Roof on; they are Pitch Roofs and it is about 8 Feet from the Ground to the Eves of the House, and this is said to be the general Form of building their Houses and Towns throughout the 6 Nations. At Ahquhaga each house possesses a paltry Garden wherein they plant Corn, Beans, Water Melons, Potatoes Cucumbers, Muskmelons, Cabbage, French Turneps, some Apple Trees, Sallad, Parsnips, &

 other

FOUR INDIAN POTENTATES OF NEW YORK

(1) Tee Yee Neen Ho Ca Row, Emperor of the Six Nations.

(2) Etow Oh Koam, King of the River Indians, or Mohicans.

(3) Saga Yeath Qua Pieth Tow, King of the Maquas, or Mohawks.

(4) Ho Nee Yeath Taw No Row, King of the Generethgarichs, or Canajoharies.

From portraits painted in London by I. Verelst in 1710, during a visit of these Indians with Peter Schuyler to Queen Anne

On the margin of other portraits made in London at the same time, these Indians are described as "the four kings of India who on the 2 May 1710 were admitted by her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain praying assistance against the French in America, between New England and Canada."

other Plants. There are now Two Plows in the Town together with cows, Hogs, Fowls and Horses which they sell cheap but they never had any Sheep, and it is but of late that they have provided Hay for their Winter stock. Their Fences are miserable and the Land back of the village very indifferent. We found the Inhabitants civil and sober.

4th Sunday, in the Morning we attended Messrs Mosely & Dean to Divine Service which was conducted with regularity and Solemnity. They first sang a Psalm, then read a Portion of Scripture and after another Psalm Moseley preached a sermon (in a chintz Night Gown) and the Business was concluded by a Third Psalm. The Congregation consisted of near 100 Indians, Men, Women and Children including the chief of the Tuscarora Town 3 miles below with some of his People & they all behaved with exemplary devotion. The Indian Priest named Isaac sat in the Pulpit, and the Indian clerk, Peter, below him,[1] this Clerk repeated the Psalm in the Oneida Language and the people joined in the Melody with Exactness and Skill, the Tunes very lively & agreeable. The Sermon delivered in English was repeated in Indian by Dean, sentence by sentence. The Men sat on Benches on one Side of the House and the Women on the other. Before Meeting a Horn is sounded 3 several Times to give Notice.

Ahquhaga

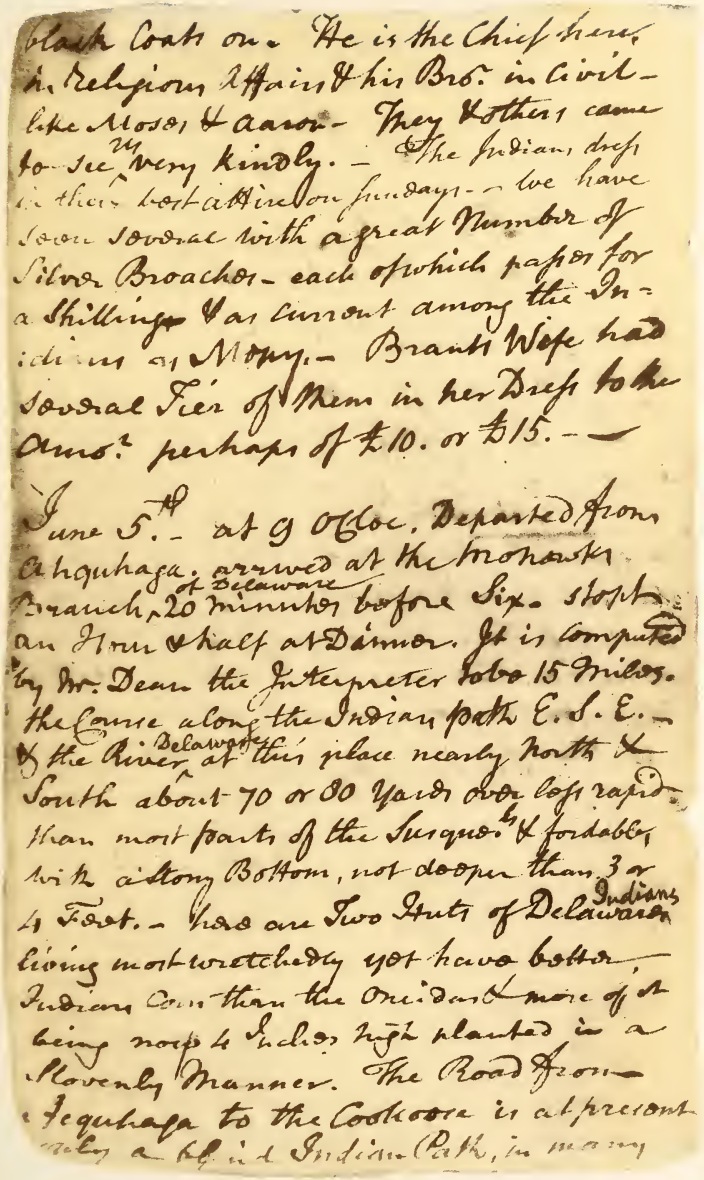
[1] Isaac Dakayenensese and Peter Agwrondougwas, whom Elihu Spencer had converted at Oghwaga during his work there in 1748. Peter, otherwise known as "Good Peter," was a chief of the Oneidas. He was born on the Susquehanna, and had fame as an orator. He survived the Revolution, and in 1792 John Trumbull painted a portrait of him in miniature which may still be seen at Yale University.

Ahquhaga contains about 140 Souls and the Tuscarora Town about the same Number. At the last named Place there is a Shad Fishery common to the people of Ahquhaga also; they tye Bushes together so as to reach over the River, sink them with Stones & hawl them round by Canoes; all persons present including strangers, such is their laudable Hospitality have an equal Division of the Fish. They reckon the Distance from Ahquhaga to Wialoosin[1] 100 Miles and from thence to Wywomoc 60, which last is the same with Wyoming.

In the Afternoon we attended the Service again; this was performed by the Indian Priest in the Oneida Language. He began by a Prayer. Then they sang a Psalm, the Tune whereof was long with many Undulations, then a prayer and a second Psalm, followed by an Exhortation, repeating Part of what Moseley had said in the Morning with his own Comments upon it and reading sometimes out of a Book, here being several Books in the Indian Language.[2] He finished the Service with a Benediction. He and his clerk were dressed in Blac Coats. Isaac is the chief here in religious affairs, and his Brother a stout fat man, in civil, like Moses and Aaron. This last fell asleep while his Brother was preaching but assisted in singing with a loud and hoarse voice. These Brothers and other Chiefs came to visit us very kindly. Some of the Women wear Silver Broaches

[1] Wyalusing, which means the home of the old warrior.

[2] In the original manuscript at this point appears the following in parentheses: "Mr. Wicwise here to-day. This spring he bought 1,000 acres twenty-five miles below Wyoming of John Allen for £500, and next day was offered £200 for his bargain."



A PAGE OF THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT

ILLUSTRATING, BY COMPARISON WITH THE ADJOINING TEXT, THE CHANGES MADE BY RICHARD SMITH IN HIS TRANSCRIPT

Reproduced in facsimile from Mr. Smith's original Journal, owned by J. Francis Coad, of Charlotte Hall, Maryland

Broaches each of which passes for a Shilling and are as current among the Indians as Money. Brant's wife had several Tier of them in her Dress to the amount perhaps of 10 or £15.

IV

THE DELAWARE; BY INDIAN TRAIL FROM OLD OGHWAGA TO COOKOOZE; THENCE BY CANOE TO BURLINGTON, 236 MILES, JUNE 5–JUNE 10, 1769

5th At Nine oCloc We quitted Ahquhaga and arrived at the Mohawks Branch of Delaware 20 Minutes before Six having rested an Hour and Half at Dinner.[1] It is computed by Mr. Dean to be 15 Miles across. Mr. Wells conjectures it to be 13 or 14. The Course along a blind Indian Path is E. S. E. and the Delaware at this Place nearly North and South about 70 or 80 yards over, less rapid than most parts of the Susquehannah & fordable with a Stoney Bottom not deeper than 3 or 4 Feet. Here are Two Huts of Delaware Indians who live most wretchedly, yet have better Corn than the Oneidas & more of it being now 4 Inches high and planted in a slovenly Manner. The Path from Ahquhaga to

[1] This route long remained the chief highway between the two rivers. Cookooze, a word intended to represent the sound made by an owl in hooting, and corrupted into Cook House, owes its present name of Deposit to the fact that it became to Susquehanna pioneers a convenient point at which to deliver lumber for shipment down the Delaware; the Susquehanna, because of its greater length, tortuous course, and shallow waters, being undesirable. Here seventy years ago was broken the first ground for the Erie Railway. A monument commemorating that event was erected at Deposit in November, 1905. The name Deposit was officially adopted in 1814. Three miles further down the river is a place once called Cooke-ooze-Sapoze, meaning little owl's nest. Owls formerly were numerous in the dark woods on the south side of the river at Deposit.

to Cookoose, so is this place stiled, (the Word in the Delaware dialect signifies an Owl) is in many parts blocked up by old Trees and Brush ; the Country is hilly, but of very large Hills there are only 2 to travel over, one of which might be avoided and on the side of the other a Road might readily be cut. This last is bare of Trees & affords an extensive Prospect. Mr. Wells & myself both think it practicable to make a good Waggon Road from one River to the other hereabouts.

Our Company, consisted of Mr. Dean, Una the Mohiccon & James the Mohawk, with 2 Horses one to carry our Baggage and one I rode, for my Companion chose to walk. We hired them of the Indians at Ahquhaga for a Dollar p Horse the Trip that is one Day going & another in returning. We travelled slowly. A few times I got off the horse and led him : otherwise tolerable riding. The Oneidas and most other Indians are said to be extortionate and very apt to ask high Prices especially when they perceive a Necessity for their Assistance. Perhaps they learned this from the Dutch. We are to give Una 5 Dollars for his service from Unadilla down to Cushietunk. He procured a Canoe at the Delaware immediately and we went over to the East side and encamped. We had bought a few curiosities of Indian Manufacture at Ahquhaga, among which a Pair of embroidered Moccisons cost 10/. Una procured a canoe immediately and we went over to the East side and encamped.

We found the first Half of this Rout not only hilly but full of stones and almost barren. As we approached the Delaware however the Lands seemed

 better

better. The Timber still continues to be chiefly Beech Hemloc, Sugar Maple, Chesnut and a few Oaks and Hiccories & others. The Indians make Maple Sugar and have some to sell. The Delaware here is encompassed with Hills each side but these Two Families possess a good Flat on the East Side and in their corn field we are now encamped. We observed today that the Indians either thro Accident or Design have burnt large Spaces in the Woods. We passed a small Creek at divers Times which empties into the Delaware above the Cookooze & indeed the Waters seemed to incline to this River for above Half Way over.[1]

6th It rained last Night and this Morng. and we recollected the account of certain Distances given by Mr. Spencer of Cherry Valley[2] who said he had travelled

[1] Since the Commencement of the present War, Ahquhaga has been destroyed and the Indians driven entirely away from Susquehanna. A flourishing Settlement of whites at Unadella has also experienced the like Calamity, wherein great Quantities of grain perished. This was before General Sullivan burned the Indian Towns between Susquehanna and Niagara.—R. S.

Unadilla in 1776 was a flourishing white settlement, but Brant in that year drove the settlers out and it then became a headquarters and base of supplies for hostile Indians commanded by him. In the summer of 1778 Governor George Clinton was informed that "Unadilla has always been, and still continues to be, a common receptacle for all rascally Tories and run-away Negroes." Oghwaga and Unadilla, where several hundred of the enemy were then supposed to be living, was destroyed in October of that year by Col. William Butler with some Scotch-Irish troops and a detachment from Morgan's Riflemen, in all 260 men, who went out from Schoharie, where, with a larger force, they had been stationed. Butler found both places deserted, and everything "in the greatest disorder," indicating a speedy flight. He burned the two settlements,—not only the houses, but their contents, and upwards of 4,000 bushels of grain, taking back with him 49 horses and 52 horned cattle. He described Oghwaga as "the finest Indian town I ever saw."

[2] Thomas Spencer, a half breed, who was famous as an orator and served as interpreter on the patriot side, was killed at the battle of Oriskany.

elled this Rout, namely, from Otego to Unadella 26 Miles, to Cunnahunta 16, to Ahquhaga 12, to Cookoose 12, to the Forks of Popaghton 15, to Cushietunk 20, to the Minisinks 40, Length of the Minisinks 40, to Durham 44, in all 225 miles. We paid James the Mohawk half a Dollar p Day. The Indian Custom, probably derived from the Dutch, is to be paid for the time of returning as well as going.[1]

6th June. At Half after 6 oCloc we departed from Cookoose down the Delaware. At Half after 9 oCloc we came to the Mouth of Popaghton.[2] At 4 oCloc we reached the first Settlement[3] in Cheshietunk[4] and at 5 oCloc we came to the Station Point between N. York and N. Jersey. Popaghton is about as large as the Mohawks Branch, which to Cushietunk is in general not so crooked as the Susquehannah and has a stony Bottom mostly shallow so that in some Places our Canoe could just conveniently pass over, but by the marks on the Shore the Water is sometimes 3 or 4 Feet higher. The Navigation at present is pretty good, but when the water is very low perhaps impracticable.

There is a Range of high Hills on either Hand from

[1] In the original manuscript, but not in the transcript, is this statement: "To-morrow they [begin to] open a wagon road from Cushietunk to Sopus, 70 miles. Sopus is their best way to market."

[2] Here now stands the village of Hancock, its Indian name, Chehocton (in a Hardenberg deed of 1751, the place is called Shokakeen), being a Delaware word meaning the union of streams, or the confluence. In early times it was written Shehaw kin.

[3] This point was probably about where Callicoon now is. Callicoon, which on a map of 1828 is written Kolli Kolen, has been derived from a Delaware word Gulukocksoon, meaning a turkey.

[4] Now written Cochecton, which means low ground.

from Cookoose to Popaghton and some small Pieces of good low Land here and there, but from the latter down to Cushietunk hardly any, for it is all hilly, stoney, broken, barren and little worth. The Timber down to Popaghton is mostly Beech, Maple, Hemloc, Butternut & Buttonwood and from thence not so much Beech and Butternut. We agree that the Delaware cannot compare with the Susquehannah for good Land; nor is the Timber much more than Half as tall. We observed several Ducks with their young Broods so that they breed in this River.

Cushietunk contains 16 or 17 Farms of which 4 or 5 only are beyond the Rock on Station Point. The Mohawks Branch tend up N. and Popaghton N. E.; there is a small Quantity of good Land at Station Point and at the Mouth of Popaghton. The Islands in the River are all good. We did not stop to dine and came down on an average between 4 & 5 Miles an Hour, but went on shore at Station Point where the River bears (I have forgot the Bearing as well as the Inscription on the Rock).[1] There is no Trace of a Settlement all the Way from Cookoose to Cushietunk[2] but several pretty Cascades down the Mountains into the River and they tell us That no Boats larger than Batteaux have ever gone down the River from Cushietunk on Account of the Falls.

7th. We discharged Una who was desirous of returning

[1] This is a reference to the point of land made by a sharp bend in the river to the northwest just above Cochecton Village. It forms with the land an isosceles triangle of which the sides are about one mile in length. Across the river in New Jersey are the Cushietunk Mountains, near which the Connecticut folk made their settlement in 1757.

[2] Decker, whom "Dorn a Dutchman" found at the mouth of the East Branch ten years before, had obviously died or moved away.

turning and hired a Bazileel Tyler to take us down, having purchased a Canoe here for 40/. We set off from Cushietunk at Six oCloc and stopt at Shehola Creek[1] called Half Way, at ½ after 12 to dine. We gave Una provisions for his Return besides the 5 Dollars and we parted mutually satisfyed he being an expert Navigator tho perhaps he never saw a Ship or a Sail; he could not speak English.

We afterwards passed a considerable Creek running in from the Westward called Lacwac (in Gibson's Map Lechawacsein[2]) & approached within 12 Yards of a large Blac She Bear and her Two Cubs feeding on the Shore. Mr. Wells fired at and wounded her & we pursued her into the Woods without Effect. The Lands all the Way from Station Point hither are miserable affording only short scrubby Timber, no Flats, Hills, Rocks, and Stones in plenty & but one or Two Inhabitants.

At ½ after 5 we arrived at the First House in the Minisinks where we stopt to make Oars for our Canoe having poled it all the Way from Cookoose with a little Help from a Paddle. We saw upon the Shore 2 Deer & 7 Wild Turkies but our Gun flashed in the Pan. The Lands from Schehola to the Minisinks continue bad with many high Rocks by Way of Banks similar to the rocky shore of Bergen. One of the highest we supposed to be 400 Feet. The River from Cushietunk is full of Rifts and long Falls thro which the Canoe was conducted safely and dexterously by our Skipper. We

[1] Shohola is the present form of this word, Shohola Glen being a popular resort.
[2] Lackawaxen, which means forks of the road.

We passed by a Creek called Mangap[1] (not marked on the Maps).

We are now of opinion that it will be impracticable to transport the Produce of Otego this way to Advantage because of these Rifts. We saw but two Small Settlements between Cushietunk and the Minisinks and no Place fit for another. The Upper part of the Minisinks trades to Sopus and the lower to Philad[a] The Timber seen this Afternoon is like the rest low and scrubby and includes the White Pine Oak and Maple. At this upper part of the Minisinks the River is about 200 yards over. We learn that the Jersey Surveyors lately appointed to run the Line in Conjunction with the York Surveyors between the Two Provinces were here and as far as Popaghton last Week. They found that from Peter Kikendahls the Upper End of Minisinks to the Station Point measured 43¾ Miles and from the Station Point Rock to Shehawkin or the Mouth of Popaghton was 31½. From Kikendahls to Justice Rosecrants they reckon 30 Miles.

8th. We lodged last Night at Peter Kikendahls.[2] He had good Beds but we chose our Bear Skins as usual. There is a tolerable Farm and the first we have seen for some Time past. Here the Hills on the River open to the right and left and let in some good Flats. We found here a Number of Eels and large Lampreys taken in one of the Eel pots. They have a Shad Fishery so high up as Cushietunk.

We

[1] Now written Mongaup, a stream of considerable size with three branches flowing into the Delaware from the north about five miles above Port Jervis. The word means several streams.

[2] Now Port Jervis.

We quitted Mr. Kikendahls at 7 oCloc and in 13½ Hours reached one Otters 18 Miles above Easton, stopt one Hour at Dinner. Mr. Wells and myself rowed all the Way being 52 Miles. The Lands along the Minisinks are not so rich as I expected; very little Meadow is visible, the Ground rather fit for the Plow and somewhat sandy like ours about Burlington & accordingly they raise more rye than wheat. Not many Houses are to be seen and those quite mean, the Flats in many places narrow flanked still by the Range of Hills. The Islands are low & level, but the Bushes so thick round them that we could not discover how far they were improved. Samuel Depue has a good place.

In the Evening we passed thro the Water Gap being the Passage between the Kittatinny[1] or Blue Mountains which are here very lofty and craggy; the Trees on their Tops appeared as Shrubs. The Spectacle was grand and worthy of a particular Description but neither the Time or our Situation admitted of it. One Dunfy lives on a narrow Point at the Foot of the Mountains which surround him in such a Manner that he cannot stir from his House but by Water.

The Soil of Sussex as far as we have seen is hilly, stony broken and indifferent; it is the same on the Pennsylvania side. The Timber is now the same as ours Oak and Hickory, Chesnut and Maple but shrubby & not fit for Sawing for the most Part. We had a Glimpse of the late Col. Van Camp's Place

[1] This word has been referred to the similar word Kittating, meaning great mountain or endless hills.

Place[1] below Walpack; he has a good share of even Land and a Range of swelling Hills proper for Sheep Pasture as much of all this Country would be if it was cultivated.

9th The Rifts from Kikendahls are less frequent than from Cushietunk thither. Leaving Otters[2] at 7 oCloc we passed thro the Wind Gap and stopt at Easton to drink some Punch and get shaved. The Country now becomes less hilly except about the Wind Gap above Easton where there is a Range of small Mountains not so large as the Kittatinny—they say that Lewis Gordon of Easton is Ferryman, Tavern Keeper Lawyer, Clerk of the Court and Justice of the Peace—we found the Foul Rift rather more turbulent than the rest. Opposite to Durham we dined & saw only 2 houses at the Mouth of Durham Creek. Musconetcung[3] which divides Hunterdon from Sussex is about a Mile above. A handsome Court House is lately built at Easton.

From Durham downwards we had the Pleasure of viewing the improved Plantations in Hunterdon and Buck's Counties. Adam Hoops has several Mills in Sussex and Thos Riché a Country House in Hunterdon, opposite to which is another House pleasantly situated; this we find a hot day. We saw many of those long vessels called Durham Boats so useful to the

[1] One of the forts shown on the "American Military Pocket Atlas" published in London in 1776 for the use of the British army during the Revolutionary War.

[2] Otter's appears to have been what is now Manunka Chunk.

[3] Five miles below Easton flows into the Delaware the River Musconetcung which has its lower courses between the Pohatcong and Musconetcung Mountains.

the Upper Parts of the River and have passed fewer Rifts since we left Easton. In the Evening Mr. Tyler went home and we lodged with Edward Marshall who lives on an Island 35 Miles above Trenton which Island his Father bought of the Indians and he now holds it independent of any Government.

This Marshal is the Man who performed the famous Walk[1] for the Proprietaries of Pennsylva. in 1733, for which as he tells us, he has never yet recd. any Reward. He has been a great Traveller about the back Parts. He avers that on the Top of the Blue Mountains, a Mile from the Water Gap, on the Jersey side there are Two Lakes, one of which contains above 700 acres of clear Rock Water well stored with Red Perch, Sun Fish and other Fish with a gravelly Bottom and no visible Outlet, and that there is likewise on that Mountain a Spring from which oozes out a Scum being when burnt a good red or brown Paint according to the degree of burning and that great Quantities of it are taken away and used as such by the Indians. He thinks this comes from a large bed of copper ore and that there are now many Cartloads of that Paint on the Spot. We remarked today that the Descent of the Waters in the River is visible in divers Places owing to the considerable Fall or Slope of the Country.

10th. We engaged one Newman, Son in Law to Marshal, to pilot us down to Trenton; went off at 5 oCloc and breakfasted at Corryels Ferry. We gave Bazileel Tyler 6 Dollars for bringing us down from

[1] A reference to the Walking Purchase, already described in the Introduction.

from Cushietunk to Marshals. We learn that the Freight of a Bushel of Wheat from Marshals to Philad.ª is 7.d from Easton to Philad.ª 9.d and from the Minisinks 1/. For a Barrel of Flour from Marshals 2/. from Easton 2/6. (the Freight of a Bushel of Wheat from Sussex to Burlington used to be 6.d).

Before 12 oCloc we came to Trenton and from thence M.r Wells and myself continued our Course to Burlington where we arrived in the Afternoon, having come today 51 Miles and we had the Satisfaction to find our Families in good Health.

V

A TABLE OF DISTANCES

Rout taken by Messrs. Welles and Smith Biddle Ridgway and Hicks in May and continued by the Two Former in June 1769.

	Miles
From Burlington to New York over Paulus Hook Ferry	75
To Albany by Water	164
(By land 157)	
To the Mouth of the Mohawk River	7
To the Cahoes	5
To Schenectady	16
(From Albany to Schenectady along the usual Road 17)	
To Sir John Johnson's, Knight & Bart.	17
To Col. Fry's on the Mohawk River	21
To Major Wells's in Cherry Valley	12
To Capt. Prevoost's at the Head of Lake Otsego	9
A Waggon Road all the Way.[1]	326
From Capt. Prevoost's to Col. Croghans the Foot of Lake Otsego	8 or 9
To the Upper Corner of the Otego Tract down the River Susquehannah	20

To

[1] By this the author only means all the way from Albany to the head of Lake Otsego.

To the Mouth of Otego Creek 24
To the Mouth of Unadella 16
(Here was a small village of Mohiccons.)
To Cunnahunta on the Great Island . . . 16
(Here was a small Oneida village.)
To Ahquhaga 12
(an Oneida Town of 140 souls)
Here we crossed over along a blind Indian Path to Cookooze on the Mohawk Branch of Delaware. Cookoose is a Settlem[t] of Two Families of the Delaware Nation, the only Indians remaining on the River Delaware . . . . . .
From Cookoose to Shehawkin or the Mouth of Popaghton Branch 15
To Cushietunk or Station Point as measured lately by the Jersey Surveyors . . . 31½
To Peter Kikendahl's the Upper End of Minisinks as measured by do. 43½
Length of the Minisinks 40
To Easton 30
To Edward Marshals on an Island 27
To Trenton 35
To Burlington 16

238

In all

Round to the Lake Otsego 326
down that Lake and the Susquehannah . 97
from Susquehannah across to Delaware . 15
down the Delaware 238

Total Miles, 676

VI

NOTES ON THE MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF THE INDIANS

Lower down on and near the Susquehannah there are yet remaining several Towns of various Tribes as Onondagoes Tuscarora's Nanticokes Delawares Shawanese and others but these will all doubtless be wormed out in a few years by the Whites and the Indians obliged to retire beyond the Lakes. The Indians settled in the Neighborhood of the English are Known, from whatever cause, to decrease fast and probably distant Posterity will peruse as Fables the accounts which may be handed down of the present Customs of the Aborigines of North America. I was desirous of procuring some Intelligence of their Manners and Usages but had little opportunity and less Time and Leisure to learn any Thing very material.

They are extremely lazy and indolent, take little care today for the sustenance of Tomorrow and are therefore often in want of Food and other Necessaries for which their Idleness makes them always dependent on their more provident Neighbors. Cloathing they use but little, sometimes a Shirt or Shift with a Blanket or Coat, a Half-Gown and Petticoat, and sometimes the latter only without Linen. Woolen Boots and Leather Moccisons compleat the

Dress of the common sort unless, which is rare, they possess a Hat or some other Covering for the Head. Some of the Chiefs, however, imitate the English Mode and Joseph Brant was dressed in a suit of blue Broad Cloth as his Wife was in a Callicoe or Chintz Gown. They frequently sleep naked & divers of the younger sort dreſs gaily in their Way, some of both sexes using Bobs and Trinkets in their Ears and Noses, Bracelets on their Arms and Rings on their Fingers. Every Man and Woman are Physicians for themselves or give their Advice gratis to others.

As they raise no Sheep or Flax and make no Iron so they weave no Cloth but rough dreſs Deerskins for their Moccisons and depend upon the Whites for Metallic and other Manufactures. They subsist chiefly by their Indian Corn, esculent Vegetables and by their Deer & Beaver Hunting, and last Year the Corn failing in great Measure they lived thro the Winter and Spring on the Money received at the Treaty of Fort Stanwix last October for the sale of their Lands. They were continually passing up to the Settlements to buy Provisions and sometimes shewed us money in their Bosoms.

Their government is known to be democratic, deviating but little from a State of Nature. Courts and Ministers of Justice they have none, to Law and Lawyers they are strangers, nor are Crimes often committed. Debts and Theft seem to be almost unknown among them, Property being in some Degree common to all. I had the Curiosity to ask an Indian what was their Method of recovering Debts; he answered "We go to the Debtor and take away his Gun or any Thing we can find belonging to him."

In their Towns they are generally sober and quiet, but among the white People their Propensity to Drunkenness is too well known; in that state they are noisy and troublesome.

The authority of the Chiefs is said to descend to the Eldest Son, but they are deposed at the pleasure of their Townsmen for Insufficiency or Absence or other cause. The Chief of Ahquhaga in Civil Affairs when I was there, had removed to another Town and was therefore deprived of his Post, but happening to return he was reinstated. Pride and Envy are to be found here as elsewhere for some of the Townsmen being piqued at the Authority exercised by the Chief Priest refused to attend divine service under his Administration tho his Conduct and Deportment appeared to be regular and inoffensive.

The Domination Civil or Ecclesiastical seems not to be of the Coercive kind, the Custom being for those who have rec^{d} an injury to complain to the Chief who represents to the Agressor the Heinousness of his Crime and generally procures Satisfaction to the Party injured, but if he cannot succeed then the Party redresses Himself in the best Manner he can. And in cases of Murder if the Murderer is killed ever so many years after or ever so treacherously it is esteemed by the Nation as an Act of Justice & applauded accordingly.

Marriage is performed by a Clergyman either White or Indian where there happens to be one. Whilst we are at Ahquhaga a young Mohawk and his handsome Bride about 15, were there on a visit to her Relations. They had been married but Two Weeks and the Courtship was thus as we were informed

by Mr Dean the Interpreter: the young Fellow had been there, saw the Girl and liked Her, but said Nothing then. After he got home to Conejoharie above an 100 miles distant, he sent her a Letter, for some of the Indians tho they cannot speak English can write their own Language very well; the Substance of the Letter was that he fancied her for a Wife and if she approved the Proposal she might come to Him at such a Time and be married, and she and her Friends accepted the Offer accordingly. I did not hear what is the Mode of Burial but presume it differs not much from ours.

Their chief amusement seems to be Smoaking, Conversation & Hunting. They use long Pipes with Wooden Stems & Stone Boles large & clumsy. They are ingenious at making Belts, embroidering Moccassons & Garments with Wampum. As they work little they consequently demand high Prices for their Labor.[1]

At

[1] The illustration showing Indian relics on the adjoining page, was made from objects collected by Willard E. Yager, of Oneonta. Mr. Yager has what is perhaps one of the most important Indian collections in the state. Several years ago he formed another large collection, but it was entirely destroyed by fire in 1894, when the State Normal School buildings at Oneonta were burned. Mr. Yager began the present collection in 1903, his purpose being to illustrate Indian life on the headwaters of the Susquehanna from Otsego Lake to Great Bend, and including the adjacent hillsides to the divide between the Susquehanna and the Delaware on the east and the Chenango on the west. This territory, which was occupied in the historic period by the Iroquois, in earlier times was the home of other Indians of the same family who are classed as Conestogas or Susquehannas.

Mr. Yager's collection now numbers about 2,500 objects, selected from four or five times that number as brought to light and preserved by various persons during the last thirty or forty years. Care has been taken by him to identify and fix the history of each specimen. Nearly every kind of Indian artefact known to students is well represented. The collection is particularly rich in specimens of flint and pottery and is housed in a building especially built for the purpose.

INDIAN RELICS FOUND ON THE UPPER SUSQUEHANNA

(1) Gorgets; two being of the kind known as "moon-stones."
(2) Pipes.
(3) Shaman pipe, snake carving.
(4) Amulets.
(5) and (6) Spear points.
(7) Small adzes.
(8) Arrow points.
(9) Small gouges.
(10) Stone beads.
(11) Spear points.
(12) Scrapers.
(13) Sinew stone.
(14) Small axes.
(15) Knife blades.
(16) Banner stones.
(17) Spear points.
(18) Perforators.

Photographed from specimens chosen from the collection of Willard E. Yager, of Oneonta, New York.
A foot-rule is given at the bottom of the page to show the sizes of the relics.

At Ahquhaga & other Towns seen by me, they have Horses, Cows, Hogs, and Poultry, make Butter and Maple Sugar, bake their Bread in the Ashes without yeast and have the Discretion to keep Rum by them in their Houses and take it in moderation. They are faithful in what they undertake, have sharp Eyesight, susprising Knowledge of the Woods, are expert in hunting, fishing, managing Canoes, and in whatever else they have been conversant.

They know Nothing yet of Hours or Miles but point to the Sun as to say they will perform such a Journey by that Time the Sun is in such a Position counting their Fingers for Days and using notched sticks for Almanacs, and cannot therefore express with any Accuracy the Distance of Time or Place.

Of their Origin I never could learn any satisfactory Account. Some Authors and W^m^ Penn among the rest, misled by theological Prejudices, have supposed them to be descended from the Ten captivated Tribes of Jews, an absurd Chimæra unworthy of the American Lycurgus; others with more Probability adopt the Idea of a Passage from the N. E. Parts of Asia to the N. W. Regions of America thro which some Tartars may have transmigrated in remote Ages, whose Posterity in proceſs of Time became dispersed throughout this immense Wilderness. But Writers are not wanting who reject this Hypothesis and contend that the Africans, Americans and Whites were originally created upon their own Soil.

For Religion, the distant Savages unconnected with Christians are said neither to profess or practice any. And it may well be doubted notwithstanding all that has been written whether any Form of Wor-

ship was in use or any clear Ideas of the Deity impressed on their minds anterior to the Arrival of Europeans here. Those of Ahquhaga follow the Presbyterian Mode of Worship because a Minister of that Persuasion has happened to be established there. They understand Psalmody very well, and tho they attend very seriously to the Preacher, English or Indian, yet the Matter of the Sermon makes as little Impression on their Lives and Conversations as Sermons usually do on politer Congregations.

Some other Particulars with their Manner of Building Towns and Houses have been occasionally mentioned in the foregoing Notes which were taken on the Spot Currente Calamo. As to the rest, having often visited the Whites their Manners seem to differ little from those of our lower Class of People.[1]

[1] The manuscript from which Mr. Smith's Journal has here been put into type—the same, as already stated, being the George H. Moore copy—has at this point the following memorandum:

"(Copy taken for the use of M. Du Simitière in October, 1780.) [by the hon. Richard Smith, of Burlington, Esquire.]"

The modern character of the paper on which the Moore copy was written indicates that it is not identical with the Du Simitière copy, but that it is a transcript from it. The comparison made by the editor between it and the original first draft, now owned by Mr. Coad, however, has fully authenticated the text of the Journal as printed here.

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